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THE BUSINESS BIOGRAPHY OF
JOHN WANAMAKER
FOUNDER AND BUILDER



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John Wauamater
1838-1922

THE BUSINESS BIOGRAPHY OF
JOHN WANAMAKER
FOUNDER AND BUILDER



America's Merchant Pioneer
from 1861 to 1922



With Glimpses of
RODMAN WANAMAKER AND THOMAS B. WANAMAKER

By
JOSEPH H. APPEL

NEW YORK
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1930

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“With many of us the riddle of life is still to be solved. Those who traveled before us along the same roads have left footprints as they struggled, fell down, hoped, despaired or persevered. This ought to be of value to us as we journey in our confidence of being able to reach the goal we have in view. The biographies, examples and cherished rules that influenced the lives of our fathers are great helps for all of us.”—JOHN WANAMAKER.

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remains to
~~can~~ be added to done
to you are its defects, ~~it~~
bring it nearer to ~~the~~ perfection
and add to its usefulness

This is our Compact
the renewal of an unwritten
Compact between ourselves
and the people whose interests
we enjoy

I sign it for myself
and for those who come
after me

John Wanamaker
Founder and Builder

New York Tribune's Ed. 7/24/10 - 1912 -

FACSIMILE OF A PORTION OF BUSINESS EDITORIAL OF "THE
STORE OF THE FUTURE," SHOWING JOHN WANAMAKER'S
CHARACTERISTIC HANDWRITING AND SIGNATURE AS
"FOUNDER AND BUILDER."

FOREWORD

DAILY contact with the Wanamaker genius for a period of 30 years is the source of this business biography. In parts it is autobiographic, as it uses wherever possible John Wanamaker's writings and utterances, many of them made within the intimacy of his store family. His church and patriotic activities are touched upon only as they affect his business life. Certain public tributes are included because they had an influence on his life and work.

The sub-title of the book—"Founder and Builder"—is taken from his own subscription to one of his business editorials (reproduced on the adjoining page), and seems to be typical; for John Wanamaker founded a system and philosophy of business, and builded thereon an enduring structure.

In this editorial he was writing of "the store of the future . . . always approaching completion, but never complete so long as anything remains to be done to remove its defects, bring it nearer to perfection and add to its usefulness." He was conscious that even the founder and builder never completes the structure of business because business is fluid—a continuing evolution—never finished even in its policies and systems. "No one ever sees the whole of anything at first," he wrote, "often it is only the little edges that are in sight." And then referring to his own business he added: "Few dreamed of the yearly outgrow and outpour of this com-

FOREWORD

mercial tree from the little sapling first planted. Who can figure out the future of the outrun of what is still only in outline?"

And he went to the heart of business and its high mission—the human factor—in this significant sentence: "We can furnish the granite walls and install stocks and fixtures, but the mind and soul of human workmen giving life to the structure must always be enlarging to take their part in meeting the greater future of the nation that is to lead the world in its nobler civilization by its advancing education and commerce" . . . adding: "The age in which we are living is one of exciting outlook and eager expectancy."

His "renewal of an unwritten compact between ourselves and the people whose confidence we enjoy," with his signature "for myself and for those who come after me" is a clear call not only to his own co-workers but to the business world at large—to carry on!

J. H. A.

New York, January 1st, 1930

THE HOUSE OF WANAMAKER

KEEP me out of it," was Rodman Wanamaker's command when this book was being prepared. "It is the Founder's story you are telling." But now the son's life is ended. And his story, and that of yet another son gone these many years, may appropriately be referred to, though briefly, in a business biography of the father.

The original triumvirate, comprising what might be termed the House of Wanamaker, was ideal for the conduct of a great business institution.

John Wanamaker, the Founder, the pioneer, the organizer, the builder, with almost a seer's vision of what would best serve the people in their daily living, and with the capacity to apply his dreams through the medium of new methods of trading; organizing big deals, big merchandise movements, a new and better service to the public; and with a genius for dramatizing the new kind of business in store announcements that caught and held the confidence of the people.

Thomas B. Wanamaker, the financial mind, whose part it was to look after profit and expense, to expend wisely the store capital in stocks of proper size and variety, to curtail extravagance and waste, to conserve and make more productive the resources of the business.

Rodman Wanamaker, the artist-mind, a genius in merchandise itself; a student of the arts and of merchandise; a

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patron of the arts, bringing them closer to the people through the store; a lover of music; an inspiration to creative labor.

When Thomas, the elder son, was graduated from Princeton in 1883 and expressed a desire to enter the business, his father said: "All right, go into the invoice department, take off your coat and help unpack the goods."

When Rodman was graduated in 1886 he didn't wait to be told what to do. "I had already begun unpacking goods, even at Princeton," he said, "sending for mail-order catalogs, studying their contents, buying things when I could save a little out of my small allowance"—and it *was* small—"I would walk around with less than a dollar in my pocket expecting it to last a week, but the catalog usually got it."

Unlike their father, the two sons were also unlike each other. Their traits developed early. Even in college Tom was the trader. Rodman was the budding artist. When Rodman would buy a particularly good-looking tie, it wasn't long before Tom owned it—at his own price—after negotiations and manœuvres.

Neither son was ever given a definite job in the store; but each found his place. Thomas Wanamaker developed a liking for figures rather than for merchandise, and soon he found a little corner in the store where at an old desk he began studying reports of the business. Presently he was giving orders as to expenditures. By 1885 he had advanced so far in the knowledge of the business that he was made a special partner. By 1889, when his father went to Washington as Postmaster-General under President Harrison, Thomas was practically in charge of the store, jointly with

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Robert C. Ogden who had entered the business at Oak Hall in 1879, coming to the 13th and Market Street store in 1883. Until his retirement in 1907, both because of ill-health and the desire to devote his whole time to his newspaper, the *North American*, of Philadelphia, which he had purchased from his father, Thomas B. Wanamaker was the store's control over finances, expenses, profits and stock budgets for the merchandise departments. Every morning he would have before him the sales' sheet, stock sheet with daily purchases, direct expenses of each department, the cash vouchers and requisitions. When requisitions would grow too large he would tear them up, saying: "If the supplies are really needed they will be asked for again." When direct expenses would grow too heavy he would send for the department chief and tell him he must reduce his force. When stocks grew too large in proportion to the sales he would stop further purchases for a few days. Of course, there were disagreements with these drastic methods, Ogden was pushing the sales of the store, and he wanted large stocks and large selling forces. And upon his periodical visits to Philadelphia from Washington John Wanamaker was called upon to mediate the differences of opinion. When the A. T. Stewart business in New York was taken over in 1896, Thomas B. Wanamaker had much to do with the purchase, transfer and reestablishment of confidence in this renowned old store with Ogden as resident manager.

Rodman Wanamaker, with a penchant for merchandise rather than for finances or figures, went from the invoice into the women's fashion salons, serving an apprenticeship as assistant merchandise buyer, going to Paris in 1888 as

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resident manager there—"because there was no place for me in the Philadelphia Store," he used to say—remaining in Paris, with occasional trips home, until 1898, laying the foundation in research and study of European markets and art centers that made him America's outstanding example of the artist-mind in merchandise. In his own field he was as great a pioneer as his father—and at first as little understood. "We didn't know what to make of it," his father said, "as the new-fangled things began coming over in a stream from Rodman at Paris"—but as they proved themselves, John Wanamaker began to recognize the genius of his son, and he was taken into partnership in 1902. With the death of Thomas and the retirement of Ogden, Rodman became the right hand of his father in all the affairs of the business. In 1911 he became head of the New York Wanamaker's and under his direction the business there took a new uplift, receiving recognition as a store where art is wedded to merchandise, as completely "a new kind of store" for the new generation, as was John Wanamaker's "New Kind of Store" for its generation of 1877.

Rodman Wanamaker's contribution to the creation of the institution known as Wanamaker's is dwelt on more in detail in the later chapters, showing that through all the years from 1888 to 1922 the genius of the son played its important part in the achievement of the father. But in deference to the express command to "keep me out of it," the son's activities are only incidentally mentioned in the present volume. Rodman Wanamaker became sole owner of the Wanamaker business, by gift from his father two years before the latter's death in 1922, and was, of course, sole

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owner and active director of the business when he, himself, passed away in 1928.

Like father, like son—the three Wanamakers had a crusading spirit which probably came from their religious ancestry. Frankly business men, expecting and receiving due financial rewards for their store-keeping, they early discovered what all American business now knows, that money is earned in greatest volume as a by-product of service. And that when enthusiasm and fervor are linked with any kind of public service the people more largely respond with their goodwill. Generally, the crusading spirit is apt to meet with failure in its undertakings because the balance of ordinary common sense is lacking. And at times the fervor and enthusiasm of the Wanamakers carried them near to financial disaster. John Wanamaker's urge to realize his visions of the future, on more than one occasion put a severe strain on his material resources. But where a man of smaller faith would have been deterred he never faltered. His courage was magnificent, his belief in his destiny unwavering. And he came through several crises, inspiring his associates with new confidence and confounding his critics. Even Thomas B. Wanamaker, credited with being the most conservative of the triumvirate, in the conduct of his newspaper, the *Philadelphia North American*, was so caught by the crusading spirit in his political campaigns that both the newspaper and store business lost patronage. And Rodman Wanamaker, though conserving the financial stability of the business and adding to it, was led through his crusading spirit to expend great sums of money in art, aviation and music, without thought of financial return. He crusaded for the

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rights of the North American Indian and would not stop until the Indian was granted citizenship by the United States. He first sent an educational expedition to the North American Indian in 1908; a second in 1909; and in 1913 a third—an Expedition of Citizenship—all with the official sanction and coöperation of the United States Government—taking thousands of photographs and thousands of feet of motion pictures, preserving for all time a record of the first Americans before they should have vanished from our land.

Prof. N. S. B. Gras, of the Harvard Graduate School of Business, in his course on Business History devotes a week to the study of John Wanamaker, and calls attention to the connection between crusading fervor and capitalism, saying: "The religious background of John Wanamaker is an interesting and important one. According to a theory worked out by Werner Sombart, now of the University of Berlin, there is a real connection between the development of the modern spirit of capitalistic enterprise and the progress of Calvinism. While Catholicism, Anglicanism and Lutheranism were staid, dignified religions, Calvinism was a religion of enthusiasm, fervor and hustling. Anyone, therefore, who has a Presbyterian training is likely to have a religious background favorable to capitalism. Calvinism seems to assume or perhaps even assert that work is next to godliness and that man should keep books when dealing with the Deity. Strict accountability with God helps in keeping books with man. It might be expected that there would arise out of this form of Protestantism, therefore, a great capacity for work and for saving. Indeed, Wanamaker seems to have been the embodiment of capitalism, getting the neces-

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sary religious zeal from his Presbyterian affiliations. According to the theory of Sombart, Calvinism is most like Judaism—Calvinists and Jews have the religious fervor necessary for capitalistic enterprise."

Called a merchant prince, but preferring to call himself a merchant pioneer, John Wanamaker was in reality a crusading pioneer, who in the realm of business believed that (in his own words) "the merchant must be big enough, broad enough, far-seeing enough to survey the whole field and then stand as a bulwark amid the confusions, heresies and fears of his times"—and who lived his own creed: "A successful merchant must be a scientist, a statesman, a reformer, a custodian of social interests and an arbiter of industrial problems."

He was a merchant who believed (again in his own words) that "the Golden Rule of the New Testament has become the Golden Rule of business"; who in the face of cynical sneers—"Pious John" and "Honest John"—continued to shatter the old idea that religion has no place in business, and business no place in religion; who testified, after living concurrently in both realms for more than sixty years: "The temptations of business are great, and unless a merchant has more than a creed or the ordinary ground-work of honesty and faithfulness he may be caught by the sudden wind of plausible opportunity and tumble over the precipice and be ruined"—and, in the other realm: "I am glad to stand up to say that religion is the only investment that pays the largest dividends possible to receive, both in this life and in that to come."

He was a merchant who "staged" his stores, dramatizing

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them, making them living panoramas of commerce, colossal productions of the thought and craft of man; with lavish exhibits and decorations and display rooms and auditoriums, that confounded those who ask of everything, "Does it pay?"—those who do not realize that profit is a by-product of service.

He was the pioneer advertising merchant who made business articulate and thus established mutual confidence between buyer and seller.

He was a merchant of faith—who went down three times into the shadows of defeat, to come back each time stronger than ever in the good-will of the public—because he worked, believed, dared and served.

Starting without robust health . . . he became a man of vigor and endurance, laboring seven days a week for 70 years (Sundays in his church and Sunday school, week days in his business), living to the age of 84.

Going to work with a scant two years of schooling . . . he became one of the world's leaders in business, militant citizenship and creative thought.

Opening his own business without fortune, favor or many friends . . . 50 years later he was proclaimed by the President of the United States "the greatest merchant in America" and his store "a model for all other stores of the same kind throughout the world"—writing in his diary at the time his new building was dedicated, "I said to myself that I was in a temple—but may I never say, 'I built it.'"

It is generally conceded that John Wanamaker revolutionized in many ways the store-keeping of his age—helping to establish in America the one-price system which banished

THE HOUSE OF WANAMAKER

the uncertainty of haggle and barter; originating the money-back custom by freely offering to the public the privilege of returning goods unsatisfactory or unwanted; substituting hospitality for hostility in store-keeping, offering the freedom of shopping without obligation to buy; making buying safe even for a child by guaranteeing the quality and the markings of merchandise and the accuracy of representation both by spoken and printed word.

He was called the "father of modern advertising," and the great volume of advertising that followed his pioneering made possible the modern newspaper and magazine.

He abolished—as Postmaster-General—the mail privilege of lotteries, established pneumatic tubes and ship-posts, pioneered for rural delivery, parcels post, postal savings, and fought for government ownership of telegraph and telephone—all closely connected with business.

And in a field entirely separate from business, he became an international figure in religion and received recognition by Protestant, Catholic and Jew as a leading layman of the Church.

Whether interested in John Wanamaker merely as a merchant, or as a man developing from a "country boy" (his own description), for whom the success of "the city has never shaded down my sense of indebtedness to my country home, to my country father and especially to my country mother," the reader will find this book an effort to present the Founder and Builder of a new type of business, in a human document which the *London Times* said should be an "incomparable manual of commercial theory and practice."

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hensive collection of rare Italian violins, violas, 'cellos and basses which modern times have seen—in honor of the master craftsmen who made them—summoning the world's great artists to play them for the people in free concerts.

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An education given to boys and girls while earning their own living—the John Wanamaker Commercial Institute—military and athletic training—the American University of Trade and Applied Commerce—humanizes, civilizes, citizenizes—"Let those who follow me continue to build with the plumb of Honor, the level of Truth, and the square of Integrity, Education, Courtesy and Mutuality."

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Building the business with his father for more than a quarter-century, Rodman Wanamaker carries on in his own right—entering public life in New York during war-time as Deputy Police Commissioner, Chairman of the City's Loyalty Committee, the Mayor's Welcoming Committee, the Committee on War Memorial—erecting the Eternal Light at Madison Square—sending the Thomas B. Wanamaker Post No. 413 to the American Legion Convention in Paris—completing the New York Store building at the 8th Street and Broadway corner and flooring over the rotunda—installing *The Founder's Bell* that pledges the entire store family to "carry on"—constantly raising the standard of the business and leaving it stronger than he received it, with a character in merchandise and environment that was all his own—his conception of art and its application to the lives of the people, bringing about a notable uplift in the manufactured products of America—upon his death, March 9th, 1928, his Trustees announce their promise "to steer our course by the chart left us."

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BOOK ONE
THE MERCHANT

"The whole story—Truth must be our bookkeeper; Knowledge discover the merchandise; Integrity wait on the customers; Experience build the store."—JOHN WANAMAKER.

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATION

NEW YORK was a city of less than 300,000 inhabitants when John Wanamaker was born. Philadelphia had less than 200,000. Chicago was a mushroom village "in the wilderness on the outskirts of civilization."

In all the vast area of the United States of America, which about this time first reached its present boundaries,* there were only seventeen million people, exclusive of the Indians who were uncounted—ten million on the Atlantic seaboard, six million in the Mississippi Valley, the remaining million scattered through the wide west to the Pacific coast.

It was the generation before the Civil War.

Uncle Sam—"tall, lean, wiry," with a "roving, keen, inquisitive eye," as he was now first pictured—straddled a continent; but not in comfort. There were huge spaces between the Mississippi Valley and the Rocky Mountains still waiting to be populated by his sturdy children.

The populated districts were widely separated. Transportation was slow and hazardous. Travel by rail from New York to Baltimore required fourteen hours; to New Orleans, by rail and water, twelve days. From New York to

* Texas was annexed in 1845. The boundaries of Oregon and Washington were fixed by treaty with Great Britain in 1846. Modern California, Nevada, Utah, most of Arizona, a large part of New Mexico, parts of Colorado and Wyoming were ceded to the United States in 1848 by treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican War.

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Boston, travellers went by boat to New Haven, by rail to Hartford, by stage to Springfield, and by rail again to Boston. Those brave enough to cross the great Western plains travelled in wagon trains drawn by oxen. Pony expresses were carrying the mail, when the riders were not shot down by Indians.

There were few conveniences and fewer luxuries. No electric lights. Even gas jets burned dimly. Kerosene lamps were yet to replace whale oil, candles were still in use. Pianos were only for the rich. Phonographs were unthought of. Electric street cars, automobiles, aeroplanes, motion pictures, radio, television were not even dreamed of.

American literature was raising its head along the Atlantic seaboard. Longfellow and Whittier, Emerson and Holmes, Lowell and Bryant were writing. And there was much snobbishness. "Boston turns up her nose at New York. Philadelphia looks down upon both New York and Boston. New York, clinking her new dollars, swears the Bostonians are a parcel of puritanical prigs and Philadelphians a would-be aristocracy."

It was a restless age. Lyceums flourished. Women's rights were to the fore. Bloomers were introduced by Mrs. Amelia Jenks Bloomer. The Millerites predicted the end of the world on specific dates—when one failed they chose another. Thousands believed—and some went into insane asylums. Ascension robes were advertised by stores.

"All is energy and enterprise," wrote Captain Marryat in 1839. "Everything is in a state of transition, but of rapid improvement—so rapid indeed that those who would describe America now would have to correct all in the short

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space of ten years, for ten years in America is almost equal to a century in the old continent."

Here, then, was this new giant in the world, awake and alive to his growing size, strength and character—finding a giant's job to do. To be done in a new way.

There came, then, the miracle of American inventive genius and the pioneering spirit that enabled the nation to grow into a country of more than a hundred million people, settling on almost every square mile of available territory. "No other country," says a historian, "gave to the world in the same length of time so many useful inventions as did the United States between 1830 and 1860."

The telegraph, invented by Morse, was developed between 1837 and 1857. The Atlantic cable was laid by Field in 1858. McCormick's reaper that made possible the great grain fields of the West was invented in 1831. Howe's sewing machine came in 1846. Hoe's cylinder press, making great newspapers possible, was invented in 1846. Whitney's cotton gin, invented earlier, was now being developed to the great profit of the South. Anthracite coal was made available in 1836 for producing steam. The screw propeller, invented in 1836, started the steamships on regular trips across the Atlantic in 1838.

Nature yielded rich treasures in the same period—gold was discovered in California in 1849, silver in the Rocky Mountains and petroleum in Pennsylvania in 1859.

But all this new potentiality for expansion and growth would have availed little without the great extension of railroads that came in this same generation, between 1830 and 1860, making possible the settling of a vast country. In

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1830 there were only 23 miles of railroads in the United States. In 1840 there were 2,818 miles. Thereafter for the next twenty years the mileage doubled every five years, until in 1869 the continent was spanned by the opening of the Union Pacific Railroad.

Nor were railroads enough. The times called for pioneers. Men and women. And they rushed to the adventure! From Ireland, Germany, England, France, Italy and Canada, as well as from the eastern section of America. They forced their way over the prairie and pushed back the still hostile Indians. They reclaimed the wilderness and conquered forests. They built railroads and strung telegraph wires. They navigated rivers. They built factories and sent American steamers across the Atlantic to carry American goods into new markets. They changed villages into towns, and towns into cities. They took the raw virgin wealth of the country—her soil, her mines, her climate, but most of all her people—and welded it, with prodigious industry, into a free nation that in a material way has surpassed all others.

This was the world into which John Wanamaker was born—to become a pioneer in his own field. Living in the seclusion of a rural community on the southern outskirts of Philadelphia, he was of this new American world, yet not within it. His intimate environment was that of truck-farming and brick-making—in “The Neck,” a flat strip of land lying between the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers.

The Wanamaker homestead—a small frame cottage—stood on Buck Road at Long Lane, near Gray’s Ferry Bridge over which George Washington had ridden in April, 1789,

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on his way from Mount Vernon to New York to assume the first presidency of the new republic. It was a main highway, much travelled, until the bridge was swept away when John was two years old, and the farmers taking truck to the city had to make a wide detour to another bridge.

Humble though it was, the home must have seemed sweet to the boy, for it lingered in his memory all his life, being recalled with a flash of homesickness when Wanamaker was 78 years of age, as "a little white house with green shutters and a small garden of marigolds and hollyhocks."

With various spellings of the name, Wanamakers had come from Continental Europe early in the eighteenth century. The earliest known ancestor was John's great-grandfather, Henry, who fought in the Colonial Army and who was living as a farmer on the Jersey side of the Delaware, above Trenton, when the Colonies became the United States of America.

Henry's third son was John Wanamaker's grandfather, after whom the grandson was also named John. His grandmother on the paternal side was Anna Hann whose mother Hattie Robinson came from Scotland.

John Wanamaker, the grandfather, was a lay-preacher in the Baptist Church—a tall, austere-looking, but kindly man known among his neighbors for his uprightness. And like his grandson, later, he must have kept hard at work seven days a week, for he raised two families, first as a farmer near the homestead, then as a builder in Dayton, Ohio, and as a brick-maker on the outskirts of Philadelphia, finally as a pioneer in Indiana where he died.

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Preaching and prayer meetings were his form of "good times." When in Indiana he wrote in his diary: "Sunday, July 30th, 1848. I went with Brother Bailey to Meeting to Brother Anglin's where we had an old-fashioned Love Feast and Preaching in the morning and a good time, and after preaching, I went to Brother Barchey's and took dinner, and in the afternoon I attended a Prayer Meeting where we had a good time."

Nelson Wanamaker, second son of John the elder and father of John the younger, was a well-knit man of good size, with blue eyes, sandy hair inclined to be curly; thrifty, thorough, practical, with a sunny disposition.

Nelson Wanamaker married Elizabeth Deshong Kochersperger about 1836. The name Deshong was Americanized from Des Champs by which name her maternal ancestors were known in France. Her father first settled on a farm near what is now known as the town of Darby, Delaware Co., Pennsylvania, but later became an innkeeper, taking over the old Rope Ferry Hotel on the Schuylkill. The marriage probably occurred at the inn, quite a distance away. Later the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Trinity took over the Buck Road Schoolhouse on Passayunk Road and Penn's Ferry Road. The family no doubt attended this church, for John Wanamaker went to the Lutheran Sunday School, established in the Schoolhouse before the Church came into the neighborhood, although later in life he wrote: "I was born a Methodist,"—referring to the denomination of his father's church.

John Wanamaker's mother was generous, cheerful and open-hearted. "Her relations to her Lord were funda-

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mental," writes a friend. "She communed with God, and to this end she was regular and diligent in her readings and devotions. For a long time she had charge of the infant department of the Sunday school. She was frequently, at times for years together, president of the Ladies' Aid Society. . . . She did what she could to train up her family in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. She taught them out of His Holy Bible. . . ."

John Wanamaker's ancestors thus brought with them to America the spirit of the Reformation. On his paternal side the unfettered faith of Martin Luther and John Calvin, the zeal of John Knox. On his maternal side the sacrificing constancy of the persecuted Huguenots. His forbears were among the men and women of faith who laid the foundations for free America.

John Wanamaker was the firstborn of the family. The exact year of his birth is uncertain. The day of the month is known, as birthdays were regularly celebrated. But as to the year—what is a year or two when one is young! He was born on July 11, either 1837 or 1838. There are no family or church records, not even a family Bible, to fix the date. For a time such biographical sketches as were published when he began to grow famous gave the year as 1837, and this year was written in his early insurance policies. Later on 1838 was accepted as the true year.

In John Wanamaker's own writings, late in life, we have many references to his parents, and from these we may re-create their characters.

"He is a busy father, much absent, hard pressed with

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laborious work and unending cares, but he never forgets the true son, for whom he would at any time give up his life. The softness, gentleness and sweetness of mother is ever a full alabaster box, but the boy remembers that his father's strong, steady arms always seemed to him in his first years as mighty as that of Samson."

It was his habit, in these writings, to disclose his own life under a veil of idealism and impersonality. He wrote out of his own experiences, and when he speaks of father and mother and the old home the picture may be accepted as describing his own.

"My first love was my mother and my first home was on her breast. My first bed was upon her bosom. Leaning little arms upon her knees, I learned my first prayers. A bright lamp she lit in my soul that never dies down or goes out, though the winds and waves of fourscore years have swept over me."

"Sitting in my mother's old armchair which she loved because her first-born son gave it to her forty years ago, I am writing this in the evening twilight coming on. With the darkness falling, I seem to lose myself in the flood of memories, and to feel that the arms of the chair have loosed themselves to become my very own mother's arms around me again, drawing me to her bosom, the happiest place on earth—my mother's bosom—just as she used to do in the days and nights long gone by. I feel the touch of her little hand on my brow, and I hear her voice as she smooths my hair and calls me her boy, her very own boy."

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Again he recalls:

"... the mother who picked you up when you fell and hurt yourself. Do you remember how she smoothed away the hurt and made you forget all about it? Can you remember your first school days and how she helped you with your lessons? Can you see her sometimes coming to meet you along the road when you were coming home from school? What dear little hands she had! How good she was to put up a little luncheon, generally bread, butter and preserves! Wasn't it good, though!

"Such little hands . . . and so cool on a boy's face when he was sick, soothing him to sleep in the long dark nights."

"... when you were in the woodshed in the yard, and you were splitting with an axe the kindling wood for the stove and you chipped a piece off the forefinger of your left hand, how tenderly mother cleaned it and bandaged it up and made it stop hurting!"

"Can't you see her now, in spite of the years, standing in the doorway of the small country house, with a flower garden in front that she had planted and tended all herself, bareheaded and smiling, waving a good-bye as you trotted off to school every morning."

In answering a question asked late in life: "Where did you get the inspiration to achieve so mightily; where did you get that something that has ever spurred you onward to new endeavor?" John Wanamaker replied: "From my parents."

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From his father's ancestry the boy inherited ruggedness of character, ceaseless industry, persistence and thoroughness in work, eternal stick-at-it-iveness—and the crusading spirit—traits that showed themselves unmistakably in all his undertakings.

From his mother's strain he inherited a charm of manner, sweetness of disposition, sympathy and love, and diligence; but most of all, eternal and unwavering faith in God which remained steadfast all his life, through storm and sunshine, failure and success.

CHAPTER II

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THE eldest of seven children, John Wanamaker outlived them all except his sister Mary who died in 1925. In order of birth the children were: William H., who for a time was his partner in the clothing business, later carrying on the William H. Wanamaker store and the original Oak Hall founded by John, now in the hands of William's son; Elizabeth W. Fry; Mary Ellen, who upon marriage became Mary W. Fales, the closest of all the children in spirit to John, and who was known as Mother Mary to the poor and friendless of Philadelphia, and especially to the boys of the World War; Samuel M., who for a time was a partner of John's in the Chestnut Street Store; Francis Marion, who also for a time engaged in the clothing business, and Bell, who died young.

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8 With only a brick-maker's income (not the high wages of today), supplemented slightly by the sale of garden products, the family was raised not without hardships and self-sacrifice. But temptations to pleasure were few, and the children scarcely knew the need of money. In those days each family and small community was happy in itself.

The family arose at four o'clock to do the chores before breakfast, and get ready for the day's work and schooling—a habit John was never to lose—"daybreak this morning

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came at 4:46" he wrote in Florida when nearly eighty years old, "the first ray of light whitens the hills and then it creeps down to caress the lowlands, to lift the shadows and announce the arrival of a new day. By the sea the rising of the sun makes a golden path along the sandy beach, with a great bed of emeralds sparkling in the light of the summer morning."

And he learned early—which also became a life habit—that the work-day must often be stretched into the evening. But there was play "between times"—work was not yet so intensive as it later became in America.

Before breakfast, "family prayers" were held. On Sundays no cooking was done, the food being prepared on Saturday, which was a busy day. On many an evening hymns were sung. But there was nothing austere or forbidding about this religious life. It was a cheerful religion in a cheerful, happy family.

John was rather a frail child, "always taking cod-liver oil," one of his companions said. But he did his share of the housework, and before and after school he lent a hand in the brickyard—"I would turn the bricks on their edge to let them dry," he said, "but I never worked in the brickyard regularly." He received pay for his work, however, and "seven copper cents," he recalls later, was the first pay he received—"they gave me an idea that if I was ever to do better than my father I would have to learn how to save." (Did he really have this thought at the time or did it come in retrospect?)

Living near the woods, the love of nature was to abide with him forever—after 75 years of strenuous, nerve-racking

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labor as a man, he was still able to go back to his youth and write: "The pines and poplars still whisper, the brooks sing, and the mountain moss-covered paths have the breath of life for us."—"Dear me, I think I would like to go back and hunt for hazel nuts in the woods and trap rabbits and squirrels." He would *hunt* hazel nuts but would *trap*, and not shoot, animals! And again: "An autumn miracle stripped the trees of their foliage yesterday. The lovely leaves—browns, reds, goldens—cried all day and fell asleep at night in tears at the feet of their mothers. They have exchanged their garments of green for flimsy scarfs that hang loosely on their shoulders. The only staid and sober fellows of the forest are the brotherhood of pines, the cedars, spruce and hemlock. They remain the same all through the winter and summer with their girdles of emerald to gladden hungry eyes."

Reading was the recreation of the boy, and the passion persisted all through life so that he was rarely without a book in his hand or in his pocket. He literally read himself into a Benjamin Franklin education. "I am sure," he once said, "people who saw me when a boy often thought I had a tumor or some extraordinary growth where my pockets were—they were so stuffed out with books or bits of paper I had put there to study in my spare moments."

But books were scarce in those days. Besides the Bible, about the only other books in his home were "Pilgrim's Progress," "Robinson Crusoe" and a dictionary.

"'Robinson Crusoe' was the first book I ever read, aside from the Bible," he said. "It was given to me by a colored man"—and it remained for years in the family, much

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thumbed and worn-out though it was. Later, "Robinson Crusoe" was one of the books that he gave oftenest to boys.

Words were his toys. Throughout his life, whenever he came across a word of which he did not know the meaning he cut out the paragraph and put it in his pocket until he had leisure to look it up in his dictionary. For hours at a time as a boy he would read the dictionary as other boys read a dime novel or a detective story. He was intrigued by the use of words and the discovery of new ones. Playing with them as his toys, he thus learned to build words into phrases that clearly expressed his thoughts. And at 20 when he delivered his first important speech, he had "so remarkable a vocabulary of English, and he was so extremely correct in his speech," that Dr. Samuel T. Lowrie, first pastor of Bethany Church with which the boy was soon to become associated, recorded the fact as unusual.

The Bible, of course, made the deepest impression of all books on the boy's character, as his life proved—not only his religious and patriotic life, but his business life as well.

When 11 years old he bought a Bible for himself—"my biggest purchase," he later called it. "In a little Mission Sunday School of the Lutheran Church I bought from my teacher, Mr. Hurlbert, a small red leather Bible about eight inches long and six inches wide. This Bible cost \$2.75 which I paid for in small installments as I saved up my own money that I had earned. Looking back over my life that little red Bible was the foundation on which my life has been built, and it has made possible all that has counted most in my life. I know now that it was the greatest and most important and far-reaching purchase I have ever made; and every other

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investment in my life seems to me, after mature years, only secondary."

Another time he said: "I believed what I read in the Bible. As a boy, so far as I know, I was not religiously inclined. But the Bible told me there was a God and how the world was created and that the attributes of God were justice, mercy, love and truth, and that injustice, selfishness, cunning, jealousies, dishonesties and falsehoods of human nature have never brought permanent success to individuals or nations."

Of actual schooling John Wanamaker had not more than two years; some of his family estimate it at not over nineteen months. And this instruction that he received in schools would today be called a travesty on education. There was no fixed course of instruction in the elementary schools in Philadelphia until 1868.

"The country school I attended," he once wrote, "began its preparations for its celebrations the day before Christmas. I had not yet learned to write, but I was given a sheet of paper with embossed edges, on which I was to trace for my mother, with ink, the words the schoolmaster had written in lead pencil. I remember perfectly the trembling tracing of those words." And in a letter to Burnett Landreth, written in 1919, he identified the school and the words: "Peace on earth, good will to men. Seventy years ago, then a boy eleven years old, in the Landreth Schoolhouse I traced these words over the pencil inscription of my teacher and carried them home to my mother the day before Christmas, 1849." And Burnett Landreth said, "John Wanamaker's name was the first on the roll of the Landreth School and of the Landreth Sunday School."

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Robert Carson, a boyhood friend of John Wanamaker, stated that the Landreth School was presided over by old Daddy Furey. "It was a typical country school," he wrote in 1911, "with one room, boys on one side and girls on the other. My acquaintance with John Wanamaker began when his family had removed to a larger house on Buck Road. (This was probably the brick house, often mistaken for John Wanamaker's birthplace.) This house stood in front of my father's brickyard and across the road from the brickyard occupied by Mr. Wanamaker's father. The Landreth School was on Federal Street (he uses the modern name). In those days there was scarcely a house south of South Street between Long Lane and Gray's Ferry Rd. All brickyards, vacant lots and ponds."

Of his experience in school John Wanamaker wrote: "I had no special fondness for arithmetic, and I never learned any more than simple arithmetic, for the teacher himself did not know any more. When I had gone through all the classes that it was possible for me to take, they let me teach the younger boys and gave me a desk on the platform with the master. It was my great desire to learn algebra and geometry and some time after I left school, while I was a clerk in the clothing store, I tried to get a young man who had been through college to teach me algebra. But he never could get it through my head, and I gave it up because I had no one who could explain it properly."

Again he referred to "the compulsory stick-at-it-iveness of that patient schoolmaster who beat our lessons into us."

One old schoolmate has said that "John was often mentioned at school as the boy who wants to know more about

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things." And he often turned the tables on the teacher—instead of teacher keeping him in, after school hours, John kept the teacher in. He "wants to know." This trait of character was to persist through life!

"Whatever education I have received," John Wanamaker summed it all up, "has been picked up as I went along—just as a locomotive scoops up water without stopping." And without ceasing his application to business and public affairs during his long life he continued to "scoop up" enough knowledge of books, of things, of people, of mankind and of the world, to become so cultured and educated, as to hold his own in conversation with any of the so-called learned men and women who had received years of formal instruction.

In the autumn of 1849 John was taken out of the Landreth School because his family suddenly decided to migrate to the State of Indiana, called west by the grandfather, whose letters were the lure that caused Nelson Wanamaker to sell his interest in the brickyard, pack bag and baggage and join his father.

The grandfather had been west before. His first trip was made in his own prairie schooner. He left Philadelphia on the 28th of May and reached Indiana on the 22nd of June—25 days to make a journey that is now made overnight by railroad.

John's family went by rail to Fort Wayne and there were met by the grandfather's prairie schooner which took them some miles to their destination.

It was a great change of scene for the boy of eleven to an inspiring world of woods, pleasant valleys; of deer, quail and

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other wild life. The country and the life in Indiana which then opened wide to the boy were described by his grandmother, in a letter to friends:

"We have 260 acres—and a very pleasant situation. Our house is a frame with four rooms—and we have a variety of good fruit of all kinds . . . our soil is very good . . . we can raise as good truck out here as they do about your city. We are living in a good neighborhood. The people are all very friendly and kind. The most of them are landholders and are very much upon an equality. They generally live in log cabins till they get their land improved and then build good houses. Our country is but in its infantile state yet. It is only about 15 years since the first settlers located here and now our country is quite well settled. In this neighborhood we have 25 to 30 inhabitants living within one mile distance of our residence, so we are not at a loss for neighbors, and we cannot complain of the privileges we have in regard to society. We have Methodist preaching once in three weeks one mile distant, and we have a Baptist meeting house a half mile of us where there is preaching once in two weeks. Our Baptist preacher is quite a spiritual man and preaches the real Methodist doctrine, and we often unite together in our meetings. Our privilege as it regards our schools is but poor. We have school only about 4 to 6 months out of the year. The appropriations are small and it is but a poor place for teachers. But we expect to have better arrangements in the course of another year. We labor under some privations here as we cannot get the luxuries here as in Philadelphia. But in the stead of oysters we have plenty of good venison and wild turkey, quail and rabbits.

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"Nelson and his family are all well . . . but I am sorry to say to you that Nelson's wife is not at all satisfied with our country. She is homesick, and she is fully determined on coming back next Spring, so I suppose you may look for them as the navigation opens in the Spring. I believe that Nelson would be satisfied to stop, but Elizabeth says she is bent on going to Philadelphia again. She expected to see the people living here in splendid mansion houses, something like Philadelphia, but alas, in this she has been disappointed."

Whether it was because "schools are poor," or because "Nelson's wife was homesick" or because of both reasons, John's family decided to return to Philadelphia after less than a year's trial of their new home.

John was loath to leave. "I was very much disappointed," he said, "when I learned of my father's determination to return to our old home, for I loved the forest and the fields of Indiana and was perfectly happy as a youthful bare-footed lad roaming about." He had planted, hoed and sold vegetables and fruits and worked in a sugar camp. And he had met Indians! Just after reading some of James Fenimore Cooper's novels! To go back to brickyards and school was drab indeed!

But in April of the first spring after going west in the early fall back to Philadelphia came the family, the brickyard was repurchased and the more or less humdrum life was taken up again in the old homestead at Long Lane and Buck Road.

John's secular school days were now at an end. But for 74 years he continued to go regularly to Sunday school, and in 1922, the year of his death, he wrote to the World's Sunday

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School Convention in Tokio, which elected him its president: "I regard the Sunday school as the principal educator of my life. Through the Holy Scriptures I found knowledge not to be obtained elsewhere, which established and developed fixed principles and foundations upon which all I am and whatever I have done were securely built and anchored."

"I found faith . . . but much more I found in my Bible . . . I found the Christ, the Son of Nature but also the Son of God, endowed by His Heavenly Father with power to transform character and life. . . . I could not reject the Bible and have nothing but a human mind and other human minds to guide me, when all of us were living in bodies subject to the same temptations, passions and weaknesses of those that the Bible showed had failed, wrecked their own lives and ruined nations. . . . Faith in God casteth out fear, and courage is a fundamental Christian virtue."

Although born a Methodist, and attending the Lutheran Sunday School, with his mother a member of the Reformed Church, when 12 years old he joined the Presbyterian denomination upon his return to Philadelphia. Perhaps it was this mixture of creeds that made him so tolerant and liberal in his work and life.

He joined the church of his own volition. "I was passing the Chambers Presbyterian Church on Broad below Chestnut Street," he wrote, "when I heard singing and I walked in. It was a prayer meeting and a man got up to speak. He was a very tall man, as tall as Lincoln, with a gloomy face, and he was well along in life. He said that he had few if any more years to live, and wanted to tell us what a comfort it was to him as he realized this to know that he had his re-

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ligion to die by. That was all very well, I said to myself, but it was not what I needed. That man was at the end of his life; I was at the beginning of mine. I wanted something not to die by, but to live by."

"Toward the end of the meeting another man got on his feet—R. S. Walton (later taken into Wanamaker's employ). He told us that, though it was not long since he had become a Christian, he wanted us to know that he was very happy in his religion, and that he had found it was the best thing in the world to live by. . . . This man was a hatter, and he said that, as he worked with his tools at his trade, somehow those very tools seemed to know that he was a Christian now."

"I had gotten my message," said Wanamaker, "and as the people went out from the meeting, I stayed. . . . I went up to the minister and I told him that I had settled the matter that night, and had given my heart to God."

The minister was John Chambers—born in Ireland a Presbyterian, but organizing an independent church because of his liberal views—becoming a life-long friend and inspiration to John Wanamaker in the practical Christianity that was his guiding star in everything he did. "I held John Chambers up as my model of righteousness," he said in an address, "his picture is ever before my eyes every day, and I often find myself turning around on Chestnut Street believing he might be near me. He was a man of commanding personality, full of spirituality and great force of character, and he made an impression upon my young life which has not grown less with the years."

John Wanamaker wrote down in his own hand the

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foundations of John Chambers' belief—and we shall see how exactly he made them the religion which he was “to live by . . .”

1. Christ demands full surrender.
2. Every follower of Christ is His messenger of good tidings.
3. Sunday is the Lord's day; it belongs to Him.
4. Alcohol is Satan's most powerful ally.
5. No man is beyond redemption.

After joining the Church young Wanamaker began to teach Sunday school. He went into the streets and brought in boys to make a class. He wore a nice black coat and a stiff choker collar, and the boys called him “stiffy” because they wore no collars on their hickory shirts.

A great religious revival came to Philadelphia in 1857. The men of Chambers' Church, including Wanamaker, organized a Sunday night prayer meeting.

A young men's Bible class was also formed, in which Dr. Chambers trained his men not only in the Scriptures but in methods of delivery both in address and prayers. John Wanamaker often spoke at these meetings, spending the entire Sunday in the Church. “I remember seeing him,” said another member, “slender and bashful, carrying his lunch in his pocket so as to attend both sermons and Sunday school, for between 12 and 2 there was not time to walk to and back from his home.”

Surely, this young man was to become a preacher! Yes, but in a far different field than anyone suspected. He was to become the preacher in business—a business crusader.

CHAPTER III

THE DECISION—AND DOUBT

FEW men make deliberate choice of their vocation. They drift into it or show an aptitude which is encouraged in them by their family and friends until it becomes a fixed idea. But John Wanamaker, with an interest in many kinds of vocations, decided upon his in a novel and original manner.

"I took an enormous sheet of brown paper," he said, "and wrote down on it all the different things I thought I should like to be. I remember it very clearly to this day (at about the age of 77). I put down architect because I had always been interested in the making of buildings. I put down journalist and doctor and clergyman—the latter a vocation which my mother was very anxious to have me take up. After several others which I do not now recall, I wrote merchant. One by one I went over the list and after careful deliberation struck out various words for one reason or another. Finally *merchant* was left and I turned my attention seriously to work."

At what age he made the choice is not known. Whether he was then employed in a store, or still at school, or doing Y. M. C. A. work is uncertain. But the decision once made, it was certainly held to firmly all his life. Yet curiously enough, the other vocations became in a sense his avocations.

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Although but a layman in the church he became one of the most distinguished churchmen in the world. In caring for the congregation of Bethany in Philadelphia and of the other churches and missions he helped to organize and maintain, and in founding and directing Sunday schools, Bible classes and brotherhoods, his work was much like that of a clergyman. He was a journalist in the advertising he prepared and published for his stores and in his personal writings which appeared in these advertisements over his own signature for so many years.

At the age of fourteen Wanamaker found his first job—or rather John Neff, superintendent of the Evangelical Lutheran Sunday School near his home, found it for him—as errand boy for Troutman & Hayes, publishers, at 439 Market Street in Philadelphia, at \$1.25 a week.

Still living in the country, he walked several miles daily from his home to the office, and he often told how this walk had its daily terror for him because of a bulldog at one of the farmhouses he had to pass. To make sure that the dog was tied he would call or whistle while still far away. If the dog was loose or did not bark, he made a wide detour through the fields.

Often the road outside of Philadelphia was so muddy or dusty that he carried his shoes in his hand until he came to the paved streets in the city. His shoes must be clean to meet the customers!

When he did not carry his own dinner pail with luncheon put up by his mother, he went at noon to "The Red Curtain," a hole in the wall in the Market Street sheds, and had a glass of milk and piece of pie.

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The city boys laughed at the newcomer "because of my country clothes," he later wrote, "young fellows will have their fun and all of us country boys had to run the gauntlet"—but he added philosophically, "after all it was really good for us to be sneered at . . . obstacles are not infrequently turned to good account, like the stiff winds that force the drafts in the furnace of the steamships and fill the sails of the barques and brigs on the ocean."

His \$1.25 wage, paid on Saturday, he gave to his mother, who returned a little for spending money. But this little he saved—"you must save, you must learn to save," he told other boys when he became a man, "I began by saving seven cents."

"We were certain he would go straight to the place and return as quickly as possible," said Mr. Hayes, in speaking of the new messenger boy—and he added: "years passed . . . I left the city during the Civil War . . . after my return in 1866 I saw a sign that almost took my breath away . . . above the door of a big clothing establishment . . . the name John Wanamaker . . . our errand boy transformed so quickly into a successful merchant."

But the transformation was not coming quickly enough for the boy, and though he was happy handling books and peering into them to "know more," he took another job within a few months with Barclay Lippincott's clothing store at Fourth and Market streets. Probably the increase in wage was the chief lure—he now received \$2.50 a week as stock boy. Here there was chance to learn merchandise. He kept the stock in order, rearranged clothing that had been shown

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but not sold, and brought new stock when needed. He learned fabrics, styles and something about salesmanship.

The Wanamaker family now moved to the city—on Tenth Street near Wharton Street. John's brother, William, had also found a job in town. The family income was growing.

There was another and larger clothing house on the next block above Barclay Lippincott's—Colonel Bennett's Tower Hall. Young Wanamaker had his eye on it. The Colonel was a distant relative and confidential adviser of his father, but the boy knew his father well enough not to ask his help in getting a job there. Win through merit was the family inheritance. He must get the job himself.

But he would first give Barclay Lippincott a chance to appreciate his worth. He suggested a change in the store's merchandise display—"like at Tower Hall" he said. The comparison was unfortunate—or did he intend to bring things to an issue? "Go to work at Tower Hall" was the rejoinder, "if you think their way is better." He went to Tower Hall, where Colonel Bennett gave him a job—at \$6 a week! He stayed there three years—leaving in the same manner as he had left Lippincott's—to become his own boss.

In its day Tower Hall was famous not only for its clothing, its building (the largest business structure in Philadelphia when erected), and its unique proprietor, but also for its unique advertising, which was in rhyme. The Bard of Tower Hall daily sang the praises of Tower Hall clothing. And so greatly did this impress the new boy that later when he opened his own store at Sixth and Market, he too began to advertise in jingling rhyme.

The boy was now almost a man—18 years old—an im-

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pressionable age. He learned fast. He knew his stock—and cared for it. One day a special lot of black neckties was given into his keeping. There were many of them, but John discovered that one was missing. He instituted a rigid search—turned the place upside down, traced the tie to his chief who had given it to a friend when John had gone to luncheon. It was a joke to the Colonel, but it helped the boy's reputation.

This sort of storekeeping was bound to please Colonel Bennett, who soon became a friend, teaching his new stock boy much about the business. "John was certainly the most ambitious boy I ever saw," he said years later, "I used to take him to lunch with me and he would tell me how he was going to be a great merchant. He was greatly interested in the temperance cause, and had not been with me long before he had persuaded most of the employees in the store to join the temperance society in which he was interested. He was always organizing something—seemed to be a natural born organizer."

He was going to be a merchant; he would have his own store! This was ever in the boy's thoughts. But he stayed several years with Tower Hall, receiving small increases in salary.

At length came the day when he asserted his independence. He demanded a substantial increase or share in the business. Upon meeting with a refusal he told the Colonel he would open a store nearby and take his trade. Before the threat could be put into execution, Nature intervened. The boy's health broke. Tuberculosis threatened. He was ordered west. In this emergency, Colonel Bennett forgot their dis-

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pute. He offered to finance a long vacation. John was grateful, but still independent, and he was able to reply: "I have something saved, sir." When Wanamaker went west in 1857 he was uncertain in mind and in body as to the future. He might never return home. He might have to give up his growing ambition to become a merchant. But for the present he would see some of his country. He traveled 3,500 miles, exploring as far as Minnesota, and told in his own youthful way of what he saw—in a letter written at the time.

"I have wandered," he wrote, "over three thousand five hundred miles of our country. Seen much to call forth admiration and much to regret. Sailed up the father of rivers—the Mississippi—and from the bluffs around about St. Paul, Minnesota, looked upon the once happy hunting grounds of the Red Men. Sad was it to witness their desolation and listen to the story of their sufferings and wrongs—it is bitter reflection upon the humanity and christianity of the White Man." *

He was enthralled with the scenery of "his beloved America . . . its lofty mountains . . . broad prairies covered with golden grain and wavering corn stretching out ocean-like . . . beautiful rivers that raft from shore to shore the products of the surrounding country . . . noble lakes upon whose bosom float ships of all nations . . . the beautiful 'laughing waters of the Falls of Minnehaha' . . . the glories of Niagara sublimely beautiful . . ." And he asked: "Where is the American heart that will not swell with joy and burst forth in gratitude for the blessings we enjoy? We are the

* Was this the inspiration of his son's great interest in the first American—The Rodman Wanamaker Expeditions of Citizenship to the North American Indian?

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pride of the nations of the world!" He was already feeling within him his country's power!

But he also saw much to regret: "With a sad heart I refer to the carelessness and indifference manifested in many places to those principles of vital godliness upon which I sincerely believe rests the foundation of the peace and prosperity of the land, and I feel as we cultivate holiness of heart and spread the glorious tidings of peace, inculcating the truth as it is in Jesus, so do we bind together our beloved Union. Inseparable with our prosperity is the religion of the Bible."—(This was to be his life creed!)

"I am thankful, my brother, that I have the pleasure to say to you that my health has been in a great measure restored and I shall, the Lord willing, soon return, I hope with renewed energy, to engage in the service of the Lord. In conclusion I ask an interest in your prayers that I may be an humble and faithful child of God. May God love and keep you in the way of all truth, and may you abound in every good work is the prayer of

"Your humble brother in Christ."

Wanamaker returned to Philadelphia at the close of 1857, and probably in gratitude to God for his recovery to better health, although by no means fully restored, he abandoned business for a time and turned to religious activities, becoming the first paid-secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, of which he was already a member and which had been started in Philadelphia by George H. Stuart in 1854.

In this office he was paid what seemed to him a princely

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salary—"beyond his worth," he said—"it is a shame to pay a thousand dollars a year to a young man to act as a Young Men's Christian Association secretary when he could not earn as much as that in any other business"—not dreaming that he was to earn in his own business many thousand times this amount and to erect many Y. M. C. A. buildings in foreign lands!

His new job was not an easy one. The Y. M. C. A. was not yet accepted. The Church, itself, was hostile. At a mass meeting of all the Protestant Churches of Philadelphia, it was actually resolved that "no person pretending to be connected in the unauthorized meetings of the Young Men's Christian Association, so called, should be admitted to the Church." Social clubs and lodges also opposed the innovation.

"I never worked harder in my life to stem the tide of prejudice," said John Wanamaker in recalling these days, "I went out into the byways and hedges and compelled them to come in"—referring to the new members. One man he visited told him "there is nothing more contemptible than trying to make money out of religion"—a slur he was to meet many times in his life by those who misconstrued his motives. His reply to all rebuffs was his own life, showing how one can be both a sincere churchman and at the same time a zealous worker in the Y. M. C. A.—as he was to show later how religion and business may go hand in hand in the service of humanity.

Mr. Stuart introduced the new secretary as a man unknown to the public with an odd name no one ever heard of—how Fate made a jest of this remark!

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At the close of the first year, the new secretary reported two thousand new members, the distribution of hundreds of Testaments, many total abstinence pledges, the placing of over 40 teachers in various Sunday schools, and the holding every week day of a prayer meeting at noon. The new Association was a success. Philadelphia ceased its hostility. The name of Wanamaker went over the country. Paid secretaries became the habit. The Y. M. C. A. in America soon became established on a firm foundation.

The young secretary labored even beyond his duties—as he always did throughout his long life. The crusading spirit born into him made him eager to keep alive the evangelical spirit aroused in the city by the great revival of the year before. With the aid of his associates, he organized a tent meeting and this was part of the strenuous program:

“On Sabbath: prayer meeting at 7 a. m. and 4 p. m.; preaching at 4:30 and 8 p. m.

“On week days: prayer meetings about sunrise every morning; on Wednesday night, services conducted by laymen; on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, meetings for children.

“Other meetings—viz.: for the anxious—prayer meetings in neighboring houses.”

And for overseeing all these activities “the salary of the Superintendent shall be \$66.66 per month—to continue until dismissed.”

Wanamaker's interest and labors in the Y. M. C. A. continued until death. In 1868, he became president of the Philadelphia association, succeeding Stuart, and he organized

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275 open-air meetings in 25 sections of the city. In 1872, he organized and carried through the financial drive that made possible a permanent home for the Y. M. C. A. at 15th and Chestnut. He remained president until 1887. Later he erected Y. M. C. A. buildings in India and Korea—at Madras, Allahabad and Seoul.

But Y. M. C. A. duties during week days, and Church and Sunday school activities on Sunday—not to mention the revivals—were not enough to keep young John busy. So he founded a Sunday school of his own—Bethany! A name ever to be linked with Wanamaker. In an address in 1885 he told how Bethany came to be organized.

“On one snowy winter afternoon, February 7th 1858,” he says, “I went with Mr. E. H. Toland, one of the missionaries of the American Sunday School Union, to the second-story back room of a dwelling house, on Pine Street, near Twenty-third, to start a Mission School. A few children gathered, but not to stay, for the place was invaded by gangs of rowdy young men called ‘killers’ and ‘bouncers,’ who came with clubs and took possession of our quarters. We fled from the room with fear and trembling.

“I was then but a boy, and soon got over my scare, and as it was not easy to give up what I had started to do, that same afternoon we hunted until we found another room. It was on South Street, number 2135, and we took the refusal that day. We returned during the week and rented the front second-story room for five dollars per month, and on the Sabbath, the 14th of February, 1858, we made the actual beginning of what was afterwards named the First Independent Mission. Some people could not get into their heads

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what Independent meant. We had to change the name and we next called it Chambers Mission School, and it finally settled to Bethany Mission School.

"The first session gathered twenty-seven children and two women, besides Mr. Toland and myself as teachers. Benches we had none, and the shoemaker-landlord found in his cellar some old boards and bricks, on which we sat and said our first lessons together. From the school windows we looked out over fields. Not a house, save one, was then built below South Street all the way to the Baltimore Railroad. It was a long stretch of brick ponds and brickyards, ash heaps and the like, such as are always found in the suburbs of a great city. It was the playground of the 'Schuylkill Rangers,' who at that time held sway and were the terror of the southeast section of the city.

"Sabbath after Sabbath more and more children came, until we had no more room. We then rented an adjoining room, and filled it, piled the children on the staircase, and then added a third room downstairs."

The building soon grew too small and a tent was erected—"A beautiful little white church," Wanamaker called it—with seats for 400, but with the sides lifted a thousand people could be seated within range of the preaching.

Within a year a brick building was erected—and the school multiplied ten times in membership.

In ten years came another building at 22nd and Bainbridge streets—but because the acoustics were such that no speaker could be heard ("Satan's plan to get possession of the splendid building by making it almost useless" said Wanamaker) the new structure was torn down and another

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erected—at a total cost of \$214,000 raised by “scholars and teachers going without meals at times . . . then without new dresses . . . selling their rings and breastpins and little trinkets”—a miracle, John Wanamaker called it.

In 1908 this report was made:

“The largest Sunday School in the world reached its fiftieth anniversary this year at almost the same time that its founder is completing his three score and ten. The Sunday School is Bethany, of Philadelphia, and the man is John Wanamaker, whom Dr. A. T. Pierson once described as ‘a cross between a Presbyterian and a Methodist, with a sprinkle of independency, who would run a Sunday School by wind, water and steam, all at once—anything to make it go.’ Both events are occasions of special celebration by the great congregation and school of Bethany Church, whose success as a centrifugal center of religious influence has been so largely the result of the unremitting devotion and zeal of its able and attentive projector. His seventy years tell a story of devoted Christian service such as the lives of few noted men could duplicate. He has proved that it is possible to work a huge Christian success without forfeiting commercial prosperity; that a strong man can seek first the Kingdom and yet have all these other things also added to him.”

About this time John Wanamaker wrote in his diary:

“Is Bethany the glory or the tragedy of my life? Do you remember the name of the famous queen who, when told by her medical adviser that she had not long to live, said: ‘A million pounds for a minute of time!’ Daylight, dawn

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and nightfall chase each other hard, and before we know it one seventh of the week is gone. Those Bethany Sundays are precious pearls making up the necklace of years. At times I feel that I starved and cheated myself, however, and that I starved and cheated those dear to me, driving so hard all day Sunday, by never being willing to leave it, to change, to modify. But why should I? I have always been happy in Bethany. It was the earliest habit I formed. It has been a blessing. It was a great tie for Mother Mary B. W. [his wife] and myself in the early days and has so remained. I might have done other things with greater effect. But if you are happy! Why people think my Bethany work is either virtue or pose I can't imagine. I have always just liked it, and there isn't anything else, not business, certainly, that I have just always liked and have gotten always satisfaction and blessing, not worry, out of."

"If you are happy. . . . I have always liked it . . . have gotten satisfaction and blessing not worry . . . a great tie for Mother Mary B. W." . . . Mary Brown, the devoted wife and mother who saw him pelted with missiles in those first days of Bethany . . . married him, mothered him, reared his family. . . . It was Bethany and all that it represented in his spiritual life that largely made John Wanamaker! Not environment, not heritage, but the spirit of God that was within this man. "Christ demands full surrender"—he gave himself to God and God made him John Wanamaker.

"I remember as a boy those Sundays at Bethany," said Wanamaker's son Rodman. "I often took the dinner pail to the Church with luncheon for father and mother, who then

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would spend the whole day there. And as a boy I would often play the organ in Bethany. The appearance of the Church never changed—always the great auditorium, with its raised seats and great gallery. The people never changed, except to dress a little better, as the years rolled on. Always the same whole-souled, fervent, earnest Christ-loving congregation. The neighborhood changed, but not Bethany.”

It was the spirit of Bethany, too, that created through Wanamaker a new kind of business that has helped to bring a new spirit of service into the world.

CHAPTER IV

THE TESTING YEARS

WANAMAKER had now reached the crossroads—the Church or business—which should he choose?

His mother had always wanted him to become a clergyman. In the Y. M. C. A. and Sunday school he was constantly associating with clergymen, and he liked them. "I would have become a minister," he said, "but the idea clung to my mind that I could accomplish more in the same domain if I became a merchant and acquired means and influence with fellow merchants."

So, business won. And the Church did not lose. Wanamaker chose both as his life work.

But why did he start his own business at a time when civil war was breaking out in the United States? "I didn't think much about conditions," he said, "with my mind made up I waited only until I could save enough money to buy goods." He had offered himself for military duty and had been refused because of the state of his lungs ("my greatest humiliation," he called it). He had just married (in 1860) Mary Brown, daughter of Thomas Brown, a highly respected Scotch-Irish Philadelphian. As secretary of the Y. M. C. A. and from previous work he had saved \$1,900. His brother-in-law, Nathan Brown, had \$1,600 that he would risk in a partnership. Why not begin? Why not

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make good that boast to Colonel Bennett that he would open his own store? ("Mr. Bennett, I'll lay over you some day," is what a contemporary friend * repeats he heard him say when leaving.)

Did he receive encouragement from his friends? No. They sought to deter him. One in particular, his close friend, George H. Stuart, the Y. M. C. A. president, said: "You are making a mistake in starting business at such a time as this. The country is entering a great war and there will be no business. Before long grass will be growing in the streets of Philadelphia." Conditions, especially in Philadelphia, were discouraging. The national business depression that followed the suspension of many banks in 1857, still affected Philadelphia greatly because that city was now the commercial metropolis of the nation and the gateway to the South. There was much unemployment, wages were low, manufacturing and wholesale houses were demoralized, retail business was depressed, there was gloom in the entire business life of the city.

But youth is undaunted and reckless. Perhaps John Wanamaker was wise beyond his years—he was not yet 23. Perhaps he had a prescience that the country would weather the storm, and then go forward in full vigor to undreamed-of development? Whatever the urge and inspiration, in spite of croakers and pull-backs, young Wanamaker opened his store, not at all sensing the dangers of the future, certainly not conscious that his little shop was to become the world standard of store-keeping and of trading.

* Charles W. Alexander, writing from Rossville, Texas, July 9, 1927, in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*.

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"In the month of February, 1861, at the moment that President Buchanan and his secretaries were considering the request of the South for the evacuation of Fort Sumter, the delay of which is said to have precipitated the Civil War, a Philadelphia country boy signed a lease that put his store into business at Sixth and Market (then called High) streets in Philadelphia. We took over two floors of the Perry-McNeille building, 40 x 45 feet in size, containing about 3,500 feet in all, and the iron safe of the old Schuylkill Bank built into the wall became the receptacle for a few uncostly account books of the new traders, Wanamaker & Brown."

John Wanamaker, himself, is telling the story of the opening of his little business. The building he refers to had been called "McNeille's Folly" because McNeille had built it so high as six stories. The site was historic. Robert Morris once lived there. The Schuylkill Bank, whose safe Mr. Wanamaker alludes to, succeeded to the building. In the house adjoining to the east George Washington resided during his first term as President of the United States, and it was later occupied by President John Adams.

Store fixtures were purchased for \$375, some clothing fabrics for \$739.94 and "at 6:30 in the morning of the eighth of April, 1861," continues John Wanamaker's own story, "two small hands and a big iron key unlocked the door of this new store where the old wholesale Quaker firm of the Levick's had just been closed by the threatened war, and during the day the new firm sold \$24.67 in gentlemen's collars, cuffs and neckties. We had a small stock of suits but we sold none of them the first day. Of the \$24.67 I put 67c in the cash drawer to make change the next day and took

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the \$24 to the *Public Ledger* where I paid for an advertisement for the new store."

Written so long after the event, Wanamaker confuses the dates. According to his own cash book still in existence—which by the way records an item of 25c for dinner—the store opened, as he has said, on April 8, but the first day's sales of \$24.67 were entered on April 15th, and the first advertisement appeared in the *Ledger* on April 27th. No doubt the new store had been open for several weeks without any real business coming in before the official opening.

The opening was announced in several small advertisements one under the other in the newspaper set in small type in single-column measure, occupying a space not more than four inches in all—the main announcement being as follows:

OAK HALL CLOTHING BAZAAR

SOUTHEAST CORNER SIXTH & MARKET STREETS.

Wanamaker & Brown desire to say to their many friends and the public generally, that they open to-day with an entire new and complete stock of ready made clothing; and having purchased their goods under the pressure of the times at very low rates, will sell them accordingly.

WHOLE SUITS FOR THREE DOLLARS.

"At that time," said Wanamaker, "Market Street in Philadelphia and Broadway in New York were paved with cobblestones over which clattered the old-fashioned two-horse omnibuses. Horse cars were just beginning to appear. There were no telephones, typewriters, electric light, nor other

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inventions which have revolutionized our mode of life. The war came on with a shot. The drum beat never stopped day or night until the regiments were in commission and on their way to the front. Scores and hundreds of the big, old firms were going into bankruptcy or into liquidation. Ours at first was called the 'foolish store' because we opened in face of such discouragements. But by keeping at our work, the two bosses, with a few additional helpers, we managed to keep going. Store-keeping then was very unlike what it is to-day. It was rare that anyone could go in or get out of a store without buying. The store was not a visiting place to have a look. A barker stood inside the door to intercept persons leaving not suited and to take them back to effect a sale if possible."

In his new store, young Wanamaker, himself, took the place of such a barker but in an entirely different capacity. He was there to greet the people and to see that they were properly served. For many years, until the business grew too large, he was accustomed to stand at the entrance to his store, greeting people as they came in and saying good-bye as they went out. This enabled him to catch misfits in clothing. But one day his sharp eye caught more than a misfit. Seeing a man leaving the store with an ill-fitting overcoat, he stopped him and asked him to go back to the stocks and procure a better fit. The man demurred, saying that the overcoat fitted perfectly. Wanamaker insisted. Finally under pressure, the man yielded, but as no salesman could be found who had fitted him, it gradually developed that he had stolen the overcoat!

The early days of Oak Hall were long. John would take

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down the shutters each morning at 6:30, sweep out the premises, brush off the clothing and wait on customers. Single suits and overcoats and small haberdashery were, of course, worn away or carried out of the store. When a quantity was purchased, like uniforms for the men going into army training, John would borrow a wheel-barrow and deliver them himself to the armory. At 6:30 in the evening, at 10:30 on Saturdays, he would close the shop, walk to his home and call it a day. There were only five workers in the store—the two partners, two cutters of clothing, who also served as salesmen, and one errand boy—only slightly younger than John.

On October 4th the cash book showed that John Wanamaker was highest man in sales. "I remember Oak Hall distinctly in its early days," said William Sidebottom on October 6, 1911, then the oldest associate of Wanamaker in the business, "I thought the store was so big and grand. I remember one morning when I came in to help sweep out the store. I took my broom in hand and as I began to sweep Mr. Wanamaker came around and told me he would show me how to sweep out the corners—and so I got my first lesson in sweeping out the store."

George W. Stull, the next oldest employee in the business, who died September 28, 1929 after 61 years of continuous service, also recalled the early days: "When I first went with Mr. Wanamaker we used to deliver all the packages, using straps over our backs, and in the winter we used sleds. The progress of this business and system has been so great, that now a great deal of the night work has been cut out, but it was not an unusual thing to start out, so Mr. Wanamaker

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remembers, to deliver packages at 10 o'clock on Saturday nights."

Credit was the first big problem to reckon with. Soon there was need of additional capital or else of credit from makers of clothing. Taking with him John R. Houghton, who had built up a large business for Tower Hall, and who had been hired by its new rival Oak Hall at the munificent (in those days) salary of \$1,500 a year, young Wanamaker went to New York to get goods on credit.

"We walked the streets all day, leg weary and footsore," Houghton told the story of this experience, "but no credit was secured. The next morning Mr. Wanamaker said to me: 'John, we'll buy a bill of goods to-day, if we have to pay cash.' So we went at it again. By night we had succeeded in getting \$500 worth of clothing. This was only a drop in the bucket. The third day I said pessimistically, 'They say there's luck in the number three. This is our third day. If we don't strike luck to-day I'm ready to give up and go back. This proposition is a little too tough for me.' But Mr. Wanamaker retorted: 'Luck comes to those who deserve her rewards. If, before I've asked every firm in this city for credit without obtaining it, I am ready to give up I shouldn't deserve anything. Luck or no luck, I mean to keep right on.'"

Wanamaker kept on. The last firm asked for credit that day granted it—all he needed. He went back to Philadelphia, sold the goods for cash, and discounted the bills. There was no more credit trouble in those early days.

But there were other troubles. "Soon after I started in business and began to go direct to the importers for goods,

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especially woollens," Wanamaker said, "the jobbers of Philadelphia banded together and served notice on the importers that they must not sell to me. It was war time in '61. Philadelphia was cut off from the South. New England was anti-slavery. New York sympathized, and the business of the South came no further north than Baltimore. The John B. Ellison Company was a leader in the movement against me, and they in turn bought from Butterfield & Company, importers in New York. Of course, I went at once to see Butterfield, and while he listened to me, I could make no headway. I kept at it, calling on him every few days, looking at samples that he was sending to John B. Ellison and saying that I could use considerable quantities of these. Finally, by keeping at it, I gradually broke down the bars and began to get goods, first in small quantities and then in sufficient quantities to meet my needs."

From the first days every cent that could be spared from the small capital and still smaller sales was put into advertising. Billboards were used. Says one story of those early days: "There appeared all over town on billboards, fences, or wherever a bit of space could be found, a poster with simply 'W & B' on it in big wood type. Of course everybody was at once inquiring of everybody else: 'What does W & B mean?' and it soon became known that it stood for the new firm at Sixth and Market streets. At thirteen different places in the city they caused to be erected immense billboards, each over one hundred feet long, being the largest at that time ever put up, on which in large letters was of course all about the best clothing. These boards also became the talk of the town, and the newspapers remarked about them."

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Other forms of advertising were used. Balloons, twelve to fifteen feet high, were sent into the air, and in the newspapers the announcement was made that "whoever finds one of the balloons and brings it back will be given a fine suit of clothes at Oak Hall." "All of South Jersey and South-eastern Pennsylvania used to sit up at nights," said a contemporary, "to watch for these balloons, and when the novelty had worn off a sensation went through the Philadelphia papers because a farmer had discovered an escaped elephant . . . it proved to be an Oak Hall balloon in the bushes, which swaying in the wind had, to the unsophisticated mind of the farmer, resembled the gray back of an elephant."

Oak Hall also sent tally-hos rumbling over the country, with horns blowing and dust flying—advertising to the country folk the "high tone" of the store. And Wanamaker issued little four-page papers containing a good deal of miscellaneous and original reading matter, sandwiched between bright, readable advertising paragraphs; for instance:

"A bad sign—to sign your name to a note; better buy your clothes at Oak Hall and pay cash." Or, again:

"A, for all people, they're welcome to call

"And buy their Spring clothing at great Oak Hall."

One of these papers was published for a few months and then stopped, to be resumed later with a different name. Some of the titles were "The Clothes-Line," "Gentle Spring—published for Pleasure and Profit." "Suit-able Observations." One was called "The Agricultural Fair," being circulated at the Mount Holly Fair. It was printed on pink paper.

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On the first page was the picture of a Chinaman, and a poem told how he had discarded his Oriental costume for the American garb on learning of the great merits, etc. This paper was looked upon as a curiosity and thousands were quickly given away.

But most of the advertising was done in the regular newspapers. Later in life—when he had his experience—Wanamaker said: "I would not give an advertisement in a newspaper of four hundred circulation for five thousand dodgers or posters. If I wanted to sell cheap jewelry or run a lottery scheme I might use posters, but I wouldn't insult a decent reading public with handbills."

Much of the early newspaper advertising was in the form of jingles often turning on events of the war. On May 15, 1861, the new store published this to keep up the people's courage:

"There's a good time coming, boys,
A good time coming;
There's a good time coming, boys,
Wait a little longer.
We may not live to see the day,
But earth shall glisten in the ray
Of the good time coming.
Cannon balls may aid the truth,
But thought's a weapon stronger;
We'll win our battle by its aid,
Wait a little longer.
There's a good time coming, boys,
A good time coming,
There's a good time coming, boys,
Wait a little longer."

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And the advertisement added:

"In the meantime the Oak Hall Clothing Bazaar at the southeast corner of Sixth and Market Streets will continue to supply every article known or heard of in the shape of gentlemen's Spring and Summer Clothing at prices really much lower than usually found elsewhere, at the same time guaranteeing the style and make to be fully equal of, if not superior to, that of any establishment in the city. Come and see for yourself."

Although old-time Philadelphia merchants said "really, it isn't polite to advertise," John Wanamaker continued his publicity and began to write it himself. And then began a series of business innovations that later largely revolutionized the store-keeping of his age.

"The quality of the goods will be guaranteed" he advertised on June 1, 1861. . . . The certainty of a published guarantee! He had already guaranteed: "Nothing but all-wool clothing." Now he guaranteed the quality.

But trade came slowly. Bull Run—the first bloody battle of the war—was a shock to business. Slowly the war dragged on and trade dragged with it. But if the young merchant was not busy in his store he was busy in the city. He recruited a company among his Bethany boys in response to Lincoln's call. He had stood by Lincoln's side at Independence Hall on Washington's Birthday in 1861 when he said: "The Declaration of Independence gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope for the world for all future times. It gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance. If this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I would rather be assassi-

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nated on this spot than surrender it. I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and in the pleasure of Almighty God to die by." That was Wanamaker's religion, too—he would help the soldiers to live, if he couldn't be one of them and die with them for his country. So he helped to form the Christian Commission, forerunner of the Red Cross—becoming its first secretary at the meeting in Washington, D. C., on December 10, 1861, when President Lincoln endorsed the new organization in these words: "Your Christian and benevolent undertaking for the benefit of the soldiers is too obviously proper and praiseworthy to admit any difference of opinion. I sincerely hope your plan may be as successful in execution as it is just and generous in conception."

The Commission was successful in its mission, and Colonel A. K. McClure, then in close touch with the war activities in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, said that in the conduct of the Christian Commission John Wanamaker was "secretary to almost everything. He was willing to do anything for the cause and he sought no publicity. Bookkeeper, messenger, clerk, freight handler, religious leader, Bible distributor, purchaser of hospital supplies, finding the graves of the killed in battle, helping the transportation of the wounded, collecting funds for chaplains and colporteurs, and incidentally attending to his own business, he was so universally a helper that he was not mentioned as the head of any one department. He made it his whole duty to help others to do their tasks for their country, and his efforts were amalgamated in their better work."

Dwight L. Moody, the evangelist, said that Wanamaker

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need never regret he could not serve as a volunteer in the army, for he was of far greater use to the nation in the Christian Commission than he could possibly have been as a private soldier or officer.

When the war finally ended business began to boom. There was the usual post-war extravagance. The "new rich" led the way. At this time it was said there were more jewels sold in Philadelphia than had been sold there for 40 years.

Wanamaker did not sell jewels, but he was selling something much finer—satisfaction! That was the core of his new store-keeping—the public must be satisfied, which meant that the old legal maxim, *caveat emptor*, was to be outlawed.

Only those of the present generation who travel to eastern countries and haggle and barter in the bazaars of Damascus, Jerusalem, Constantinople or Cairo can realize the uncertainty of trading that still prevailed in America so late as the Civil War. "The law of trading was then the law of the jungle," said Wanamaker, "take care of number one. The rules of the game were: don't pay the first price asked; look out for yourself in bargaining; haggle and beat the seller as hard as you can. Naturally the purchaser felt that the concessions he secured from the shop-keeper were so much money made for himself. But how little he knew! Most assuredly the store-keeper, butcher or grocer, always added to the price enough to cover what he had learned was what the customer would beat him down to. And when a thing was once sold it was sold—no returns. Exchanges of goods were rare and discouraging; the return of money was never admissible unless for goods damaged when purchased. An

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inflexible one price did not exist. Schools in stores for training employees were unknown. All hours of service were long—from 6:30 to 6:30 on week days and a fifteen-hour day on Saturdays. There were few holidays, no Saturday holidays, and no summer holidays without loss of pay. Hospitalities of waiting rooms, post offices, restaurants, hospital rooms, concert halls were unthought of.”

What consternation then, when Oak Hall made this announcement:

“Any article that does not fit well, is not the proper color or quality, does not please the folks at home, or for any reason is not perfectly satisfactory, should be brought back at once, and if it is returned as purchased within ten days, we will refund the money. It is our intention always to give value for value in every sale we make, and those who are not pleased with what they buy do us a positive favor to return the goods and get the money back.”

Does not please the folks at home! Imagine how that phrase sank into the minds of people long suffering at the hands of store-keepers. The principle of store-keeping was reversed overnight. It was no longer “the purchaser beware.” It was “the purchaser be satisfied.” A sale was no longer closed the moment the money was paid over. It remained open until the customer was satisfied. This, and this only, in Wanamaker’s judgment, fulfilled the principle of fair trading—that both parties to a deal must profit.

With “money back” guaranteed if the purchaser was not satisfied, the establishment in American store-keeping of one fixed price was bound to come. Many conflicting statements have been made about the origin of one-price. They arise

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largely from the fact that one-price was not an origination like Wanamaker's money-back offer. Rather it was a slow and painful growth out of the old slavish system of barter and haggle.

As early as 1842 some New York stores were advertising one-price. On February 22, 1842, this announcement was made:*

291 Grand Street, late Vann's . . . Broun, Urquart take pleasure in announcing to the public that they have purchased of Mr. Vann his interest in the extensive Dry Goods Establishment at 291 Grand Street, and . . . we pledge ourselves to conduct our business on the strictest system of ONE PRICE. All goods will be found marked in plain figures and no deviation under any circumstances will be allowed from prices so marked.

March 26, 1842:

P. Gregory & Sons, 175 Spring Street. Ladies in want of Dry Goods at prices to suit the times will find it to their interest to call. Goods freely shown. Full measure always given. And ONE PRICE only.

A business card, yellowed with age, of Alexander T. Stewart & Co., No. 257 Broadway, states: "Their prices for the package or piece are regular and *uniform* and as low as similar qualities can be purchased at other reputable houses in the city. Their terms are six months for approved credit."

This Stewart card is undated. It might have been issued as early as 1827 or as late as 1841, the period during which his store was located at 257 Broadway. And Wanamaker, himself, said in an editorial written March 2, 1907, that "A. T. Stewart first began the one-price rule for dry goods,

* In the New York *Tribune*.

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and our system carried it further than he did, with plain figures and instant reclamations of cash accorded to customers."

Other examples, perhaps earlier than these, may be found of stores advertising one-price. But the mere announcement of one-price was not the important thing in its establishment. It was the strict adherence to one-price. And the adherence by a store large enough and prominently enough before the public to make a big impression—one that fearlessly set an example that more timid merchants could follow.

In this sense the stores of A. T. Stewart and John Wanamaker may fairly be said to have established one-price in the systems of American store-keeping, as being sound not only in morals, but in economics as well. How long and hard a fight it was is shown by the fact that even today, after half a century, prices are still broken in some shops of otherwise good character when a customer persists in haggling.

The thing that really double-riveted and clinched "one-price" in American store-keeping was John Wanamaker's money-back idea—the willingness not only to exchange merchandise when it proved unsatisfactory, but to return to the customer the purchase money. This immediately convinced a suspicious public. If a store would give that privilege its prices must be down to bed-rock at the start; there was no need to haggle them down further.

"Money-back" made prices both low and uniform. The fixed prices in a money-back store had to be at least as low as the haggled-down prices in other stores; if they were not,

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the money-back offer would swamp the merchant with returned goods when it was discovered that he was undersold. If these fixed prices were the lowest, then the public had confidence that they would stay fixed—the same price to everyone who bought the same goods at the same time.

“Two little incidents in my life when a boy,” said John Wanamaker in 1919, “created the foundations of this business. One of these happened on a Christmas eve nearly seventy years ago. I had gone into a jewelry store to buy my mother a little gift. I had only a few dollars saved up for the purpose. I wanted to buy the best thing these dollars would buy. I guess I took a long time to look at the things in the jewelry cases. The jeweler was growing impatient. Finally I said ‘I’ll take that,’ indicating a piece—just what it was I do not recall.

“The jeweler began wrapping it up. Suddenly I saw another piece that I thought would better please my mother. ‘Excuse me, sir,’ I said, ‘but I have changed my mind, I’ll take this piece instead of the one you are wrapping.’

“You can imagine my surprise and chagrin when the jeweler answered: ‘It’s too late now. You’ve bought the first piece and you must keep it.’ I was too abashed to protest. I took what I had first bought, but as I went out of the store I said to myself:

“‘When I have a store of my own the people shall have what they want.’”

He was to add to this later—“and what they ought to have.”

CHAPTER V

THE CHALLENGE

JOHAN WANAMAKER was thinking ahead of the people. He was giving them not only the store they wanted but the store he thought they ought to have.

To his salesmen he explained: "I try my best to buy in falling markets. I manage to have the cash or get the credit to make the purchase. I buy only good and attractive stocks. Then I put more money than I have into advertising. But this does not complete the work. You must show the goods and sell them, and it isn't all right for me to have put out a lot of money in advertising just for that particular sale to that particular customer. You must make him want to come back."

Wanamaker was seeking not only to make sales, but to build sales into a growing business—to have the people come back and buy again. And he accomplished this by so satisfying the people with each purchase that they had confidence in the new store. . . . "What we advertise we must do," he said. "Tell the customer the exact quality of the goods, if he does not know it. And don't let him be satisfied with a poor fit or with a style that is manifestly unbecoming. Don't you see that his women folk will make him dissatisfied? Then he won't come back. Why am I advertising?" Here was business psychology. He knew that "women folk" influenced the men in what they bought.

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Not trusting even his own salesmen—still steeped in the old ways of business—to tell the facts, he ticketed each article—first, second or third quality—marking them “seconds,” if they were imperfect.

“It won’t work,” other merchants said of this new-fangled store-keeping. “It will ruin you.”

But the new store kept growing, as the public began more and more to realize that here was a merchant as good as his word—that his goods were what the advertising said they were. They found that prices were lower than they could haggle them down to in other stores. To emphasize this fact Wanamaker advertised on December 21, 1868: “As to our prices, we guarantee them 10 per cent lower than the lowest elsewhere, or cash handed back if shown to be otherwise.”

Nathan Brown died in 1868, and Wanamaker bought the interest in his estate. Now being the sole owner, as already he was the manager of the business, he planned expansion—a word that remained ever in his business vocabulary. He enlarged Oak Hall by taking in adjoining buildings, increasing the floor space to two acres, and he opened April 5, 1869, an additional store at Nos. 818-820 Chestnut Street for the sale of a finer grade of men’s and boys’ clothing. In those days, as today, Chestnut was the smart street and Market the popular street for shopping. As early as March 19, 1866, Wanamaker & Brown had referred in their advertising to the prejudice against Market Street, saying:

“Those who have been prejudiced against Market Street stores need only call and examine our immense stock of Gents’ and Boys’ Clothing to be convinced that it is far

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superior to ordinary Ready-Made Clothing, whilst the prices are greatly below old-fashioned prices. Query—Why is it so? Because first class workmen (and we employ no others) can make the same styles, no matter where the building is located, and the low prices are accounted for by our large sale, which enables us to buy goods on the best terms at first hand. (Consider these things.)”

When the new store was opened on Chestnut Street reference was made to the “brown stone buildings” as a mark of quality. The advertisement of this store was over the name of John Wanamaker & Co. The new firm announced “a new era,” saying we “will open a first class clothing establishment in large brown stone buildings at 818-820 Chestnut Street.” The new store was advertised regularly on the front page of the *Public Ledger* but at first only items of goods on sale were given.

In the Oak Hall advertising which now was running regularly in the same position it occupied since 1861—following the editorial page—(a location which Wanamaker always favored for his advertising)—he continued to emphasize his new declaration of principles. On October 11, 1869, he announced: “Exchange made whenever desired and *fullest satisfaction* always given or money refunded.” This is the principle now so well established that the customer must be satisfied and that the customer is always right. On December 27, 1869, he reiterated his guarantee: “The prices are all put down so that we guarantee them fully ten per cent lower than anywhere else, or we will take goods back and refund money when shown otherwise.” On March 25,

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1879, were published "rules for self-measurement, offering to send patterns of goods, price-list, with directions for ordering by mail."

On April 8, 1871, Oak Hall announced its tenth anniversary, saying "first year's sales, \$24,125.62; last year's sales (1870), \$2,085,528.55," adding that the store was now averaging in sales fifteen and twenty-thousand dollars a day, that it employed 43 salesmen, 70 cutters and 20 clerks."

To buy woolens for the finer Chestnut Street Store, and for Oak Hall as well, Wanamaker went abroad in 1871—his first trip to Europe. The Rev. Samuel T. Lowrie, his Bethany pastor, accompanied him, and as might be expected, there was more than mere business in the journey. Wanamaker's own notes record that in Edinburgh they met Horatio Bonar, the famous hymn writer; in London, George Williams, founder of the Y. M. C. A.; and that they heard Charles Spurgeon preach on "Christ is All in All."

However, \$50,000 of woolens were purchased in Leeds; William Whiteley's London store, then eight years old, was visited; and data were procured about the Equitable Pioneers' Society, Ltd., of Rochdale, Lancashire, founded in 1844 and credited by some writers with being the "first department store."

In London Wanamaker studied Crystal Palace, the first great Exposition grounds; visited Windsor Palace and saw "the rarest pictures, furniture carvings and luxuries that one who does not see only dreams of"; and "called on His Lordship the Earl of Shaftesbury." Completing his tour, he visited Cologne, the Rhine and Switzerland, but strangely omitted

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Paris—perhaps because he was not yet selling women's fashions. He returned with many new ideas that began to bear fruit—especially in the new kind of store that was then beginning to take form in his mind.

In 1872 Wanamaker opened branch stores in Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Richmond, Memphis, St. Louis and Louisville, but all were soon sold to their different managers or discontinued. He was evidently testing what has become the chain-store system of today, but for the reason that he would not have a business that he could not personally supervise (which decision he persisted in all his life), he abandoned the idea that has proved so profitable to others.

On May 4, 1872, Oak Hall made this announcement:

Saving in rent	4 per cent
Close buying at first hand	6 per cent
Buying in enormous lots	4 per cent
Low rate of expenses	3 per cent
Small profit system	3 per cent

Saving to customers 20 per cent

On October 4, 1872: "If an article is unsatisfactory we are ready to do exact justice." Exact justice was a newly recognized principle in store-keeping.

On October 30, 1872: "No person need be dissatisfied ten minutes with articles bought at our house, as we mean our customers to have fullest value and uttermost satisfaction, and we will rectify anything that seems wrong."

December 27, 1872: "We have invariably published and practised the 'fullest satisfaction' principles, viz.: that we sell

PORT

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	1	2	3	4	1					
2	5			4						
3										
4					9					
5	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
6	5	9	9	10	8	8	5	5	5	7
7	5	9	9	10	7	8	5	5	5	7
8	10				11	9	8	8	8	7
9	1	1			9	7	7	1		
10					11	10	5	5		

BATTLESHIP

CRUISER

DESTROYER

DESTROYER

1

1

1

STARBOARD

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
1	5	3	6	9	1	4	7			
2	8	5	5	8	9					
3	6	8	5	3	8	2	4			
4		10	7		7			10	10	
5	1		1	3	1	2	1		1	
6					7		9		10	
7				6	3	2				
8					8	2			10	
9				8	3					
10										

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each article as reliable in our judgment, and if it turns out to be otherwise we will make proper adjustment as soon as notified." (This is the principle of the "Adjustment Service" in stores of today.) "Customers, therefore, are fully served on all they buy at Oak Hall."

In September, 1873, Wanamaker made an announcement which is a classic in advertising, a model of terseness, simplicity, truth—

"People often wonder how it is that Wanamaker & Brown do so much business when other houses are so dull. There is nothing strange about it. The facts of the matter are simply as follows:

1. We advertise what we have for sale.
2. We have for sale what we advertise.
3. The people come and see that it is so.
4. The people buy our clothing because they are pleased with the garments we make.
5. The people are satisfied that they get full value for the money they leave with us and they come again and send their friends."

Assuredly, this was truth in advertising, truth in merchandise and in merchandising, straightforwardness in dealing, and satisfactory service to the public—the platform of modern business was laid in 1873!

Oak Hall had now acquired national fame. It was no longer merely a Philadelphia store. It was the largest retail clothing business in the United States, and the most original and daring in its innovations.

Wanamaker had now reached these conclusions about store-keeping—as he later expressed them:

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- First: that a store should not be a trap to catch something from each who enters it.
- Second: that advertising must say exactly what the store is and what it does.
- Third: that all the goods sold are called back again if the buyer is not pleased to retain them.
- Fourth: fair prices for everything to everybody alike, without hidden reservations or concessions.
- Fifth: that justice and honor require the exclusion of baits or even trifling deceptions; that customers whose confidence is invited and given are entitled to have their confidence respected and protected at every point.
- Sixth: that patient and persistent training must be given to all the employees, to undo the education in the old long-time prevailing methods, to grow a new crop of business men and women to administer a new, broader, more enlightened and equitable system.

Wanamaker was now ready to announce, in complete form, all the business innovations that he had been testing and proving through these many years of hard-won experience. He was now to demonstrate what he said fifty years later:

“This store stands upon principles; its sole foundation is its principles, not its practices nor its profits. This is the inside of our heart—to stand on our integrity, on principle, on honor, on justice, not only for the store but for our customers and for each other.”

But a new obstacle was first to be met and overcome. It was the panic of 1873, the most disastrous business upheaval in the country's peaceful days. Many business houses went down under the stress—but not Oak Hall. Wanamaker weathered the panic of 1873, as he had weathered his earlier troubles of credit, because he had the confidence of the

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public as well as of wholesale merchants and importers with whom he dealt. The people trusted him to play fair. He trusted the people, even going so far as to announce on October 1, 1873, when credit was hazardous: "Checks taken from buyers. Change given in cash."

"Your credit is good enough," had written William Libbey of A. T. Stewart & Co., to Wanamaker in 1870 when the latter had asked to have extended some notes given for the entire output of a woolen factory controlled by Stewart—and "you are able to take care of it in spite of all the lies that the devil may get into line to do their dirty work under his generalship."

Wanamaker was to hear many more lies of the devil about his credit, and "always," he said later, "I remembered this letter of Libbey's." It showed such remarkable faith in the young merchant that it is worth recording in full.

Broadway, Chambers and Reade Sts.,
New York, May 2nd, 1870.

My dear Wanamaker:—

Your letter of the 30th ult. gave me quite a surprise this morning. After I had read it, I said to myself, "what a serious friend this is. I wish he had twenty-five years more of battle for credit and position on his head. Then he could join me in my laugh."

My good fellow, you must have worked hard last week, and Saturday night is a very bad time to write a letter. You will feel more cool and independent on Monday morning, and I do not doubt, will tell John Wanamaker, if you know him, that you do not care a fig for A. T. Stewart & Co. or anybody else, that your credit is good enough, that you are able to take care of it, in spite of all the lies that the devil may get into line to do their dirty work under his generalship. Now, friend John, to reply to your

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standpoint, firstly, A. T. Stewart & Co. *have not requested* any investigation into the matter you refer to, do not know anything about it, *and do not care particularly anything about it so far as they are concerned*, and you should feel the same way. It is about time that John Wanamaker should laugh at all and every of these stories; be they *true* or *false*, either ought not to make any difference to him; if your stout heart and strong arm (under God's Providence) have placed you where you are you need not let such trifles trouble you NOW. There are two classes of equally dangerous and annoying kinds of vagabonds, that we have to daily come in contact with. Those who spend all their time, generally stealing it from somebody, to tattle the little lies that the old devil makes sure that they are kept supplied with. The other a class of goodly persons who are simple-hearted and believe all the tattle they hear, and confidentially go around to unburden themselves and load up those that the devil can tempt to waste their time upon them. They both come under the classes of the knaves and fools. The first robs you in cold blood, the other sets your house on fire and says he did it only in sport; don't waste any time on either. It's my way with all such. I generally ask them to be so kind as to write me a letter covering all the points and which, as you may judge, I never get, as such people seldom dare to write what they are very willing to tell, as in the one case they could lie out of it and in the other they would find their signature against them.

In regard to your obligations, I do not know whether you owe us six thousand or sixteen thousand, it makes no difference which. I was not advised that any of your goods were undelivered. The last I knew about a large purchase made some time since was that they were to be stored in Philadelphia subject to your orders. Be assured, my friend, on all these matters and keep quiet.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM LIBBEY.

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With credit established and the public's good-will assured, Wanamaker dared to plan more expansion of his business even during the financial and business depression. He could not acquire under favorable conditions more property at Sixth and Market. But while his friends were saying how fortunate this was—that he had been blocked in enlarging his store in panic times—he was quietly negotiating with the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Thomas A. Scott, for a new site for a new store that was soon to startle not only Philadelphia but the nation as well.

Before this transaction was completed, he summarized all his innovations, which, as we have seen, had previously been announced and put into operation, in an advertisement of the Wanamaker Chestnut Street store, published Friday, March 13, 1874. It was headed:

"Of interest to the People of Philadelphia—a new Prospectus"—He evidently did not believe in the proverbial bad luck of "Friday the Thirteenth," and he added "We'll Deserve Success."

Evidently, Wanamaker now knew fairly clearly what he was striving to do—that he was actually revolutionizing the store-keeping of his day—and he boldly told the public of his principles and accomplishments.

"We began business with a determination not to follow in any beaten track, and with a fixed purpose to lift up and honor our trade," he advertised. "Naught but disaster was predicted of the attempt to found so large a Clothing House on Chestnut Street in Philadelphia; but we had faith to believe that our citizens would support a *First Class Enterprise* and they have not disappointed us. Despite the faults

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unavoidable in early organization—which in some degree prevented the full accomplishment of our plans—our sales at 818 and 820 Chestnut Street have amounted in five years to nearly Three Million Dollars.

“During our brief business life we have been permitted to see and share in the *Complete Revolution* of the Clothing and Tailoring Trade of this City, and today, with larger experience, we strike out a new policy which, we think, deserves more than the consideration usually accorded newspaper cards.

“We set it out as follows:

First: A fixed price marked in plain figures on each article and no deviation.

Second: No long credits. Bills payable when presented: so that all prices can be based on the ready money principle. This will do more to lower the prices than any other one thing. Cash customers will not have to pay high rates to cover the interest on slow payers and the losses on delinquents.

Third: The purchase money returned when desired, if goods are brought back unworn and uninjured, except for garments made to special order, which will be cheerfully exchanged.

On this new and safe basis we are now marking our goods. No more credit rates but low cash rates to all customers, a plan which will quickly convince a fair examiner of its advantages.

Without deprecating others in the trade, we shall endeavour to excel them by using a large cash capital in buying goods from first hands and by offering only substantial materials, made up by the best workmen, at such prices as cannot be afforded except in a large and safe business.

The several departments of our business are:

1. Gentlemen's Ready Made Clothing.
2. Youths' and Boys' Ready Made Clothing. (From unusually fine materials made up in latest fashion by first-class workmen.)
3. Children's Department.

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4. Ladies' Department for Coats and Habits.
5. Department for Bespoke and Measure Goods.
6. Fine Furnishing Goods Department.

Figures are the facts that take the doubts out of people's minds; we therefore confidently invite close scrutiny and comparison and will abide the decision of an ever appreciative and generous public.

The advertisement was signed:

John Wanamaker & Co.,
Finest Clothing House,
818-820 Chestnut Street.

For Oak Hall he made a similar announcement on September 26, 1874, in the first copyright advertisement ever published by a store, as follows:

(This advertisement is copyrighted)

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1874, in the office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

A GREAT STRIDE UP AND OVER BUSINESS CUSTOMS

Old methods found to be faulty or objectionable, discarded. A new and advantageous plan hereby adopted.

Already the largest clothing concern in America, and leading the trade, now starts on a new career thoroughly reorganized on a greatly improved plan.

Silencing Objectors! Assuring Equal Rights to all! Ruling out the Possibility of Unfairness! Securing a Scale of still Lower Prices! Dropping every feature liable even to Criticism! Guaranteeing purchasers against

Misfits, Mistakes, Misrepresentations, Misunderstandings
Dissatisfaction with price or purchase rendered impossible.

Thirteen years of interested and eager observation of different methods of doing business, while establishing and extending the largest clothing trade in the United States, have brought us to the following CONCLUSION—

JOHN WANAMAKER

FIRST—That a customer has a right to some guarantee that his purchase shall prove exactly as represented.

SECOND—That cash throughout is the only basis consistent with the very lowest prices, as credit in every case necessitates higher prices to cover losses by bad debts, interest, lawsuits, hire of collectors, increased number of bookkeepers, etc.

(Author's Note.—Wanamaker prices have always been based on cash payments, although for many years, for greater convenience to its customers, it has been the store's custom to render statements of accounts at the end of each month, to be settled within ten days. And Wanamaker's today pays cash for 90 per cent. of its merchandise, and would pay 100 per cent. cash could it procure cash discounts on the remaining 10 per cent.)

THIRD—That, though justice does not require it, comfort and actual security in dealing are greatly promoted by giving to the purchaser the privilege not only of exchange of goods, but of returning the same within a given time, and have promptly paid back the cash in full.

FOURTH—That all customers buying at the same time should pay precisely the same price for the same quality of goods.

FIFTH—That the interest of customers will be best served by abandoning the practice of paying salesmen a percentage on each sale, as it leads to "hurrying-up," and sometimes "over-persuading" buyers to take goods with which they are not fully suited.

SIXTH—That as customers naturally inquire into the character and quality of articles offered for sale, and may not always be correctly informed, or fully understand the clerks, a label, made under the authority and guarantee of the firm, bearing a printed description of the name and quality of the goods, should be attached to each article.

BUSINESS MEN, thoroughly bent on upright dealing, have been thinking over, working out and experimenting on propositions similar to the above, and here and there is an establishment which has accepted one or another of these conclusions, and ordered their business accordingly. But

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We Unhesitatingly Adopt Them All

And confidently relying on the approval and support of an intelligent and discriminating public, we inaugurate what we believe to be the best system in the world, and we now

Announce these as the

FOUR CARDINAL POINTS

By which we will
hereafter steer our
craft

FULL GUARANTEE
ONE PRICE

CASH PAYMENT
CASH RETURNED

Explanation and Elaboration
Of the New Plan

First Point—"CASH"—Houses doing a credit business must provide for losses on bad debts, interest on long standing accounts, capital locked up, etc. To bear such losses themselves would drive them out of business. Therefore a per cent. is added to the price of each article sold to cover this leakage, and cash buyers, whether they know it or not, really pay the bad debts and the interest on the long credits of the other customers. Under the cash payment system one pays only for what he gets, and contributes nothing to a "Sinking Fund." By this radical change we shall lose some of our customers, no doubt, but we will gain ten where we lose one, the advantages being so great to all who can avail themselves of them. So we say CASH THROUGHOUT. Bring money for Clothing and we will supply it at prices possible under no other plan.

Second Point—"ONE PRICE"—The fairness of this feature of our plan all will praise. It is simply treating all alike—exactng nothing from indisposition to bargain or ignorance, and, at the same time, conceding all that shrewdness on the shrewdest customer's part could possibly extort, because the "One Price" which we mark on our goods shall invariably be

Not the "First" Price, but the Last and Lowest Price.

Not the "Top" Price, but the Very Bottom Price.

Third Point—"FULL GUARANTEE"—A printed guarantee, bearing the signature of our firm, will accompany each garment as a warrantee. This binds us in every sense, and will be honored as

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quickly as a good draft of the Government of the United States. This is a sample of the full guarantee and tells its own story—

Guarantee

We Hereby Guarantee—

First—That the prices of our goods shall be as low as the same quality of material and manufacture is sold anywhere in the United States.

Second—That prices are precisely the same to everybody for same quality on same day of purchase.

Third—That the quality of goods is as represented on printed labels.

Fourth—That the full amount of cash paid will be refunded if customers find the articles unsatisfactory, and return them unworn and uninjured within ten days of date of purchase.

Fourth Point—"CASH RETURNED"—This is simply a concession on our part to our customers, to secure them full confidence in dealing for goods they know very little about, and we thus prevent any occasion for dissatisfaction from any and every cause whatsoever. If the garment is not exactly what you thought, if your taste changes, if the "home folks" prefer another color or another shape, if you find you can buy the same material and style elsewhere for less money, if you conclude you don't need it after you get home, if the season changes suddenly and you wish you had not bought it, bring it back unworn and uninjured, and the amount of money you paid will be returned on the spot. What more can we do for our customers than this, when we make our clothing so that they can draw the money value with it equally as well as with a check on the banks?

THE ADVANTAGES incident to a system having for its cardinal points these which we have now explained, are simply innumerable. Saving of time and temper, perfect security, absence of all huckstering, etc., etc. But above all this,

IT MAKES CLOTHING CHEAP—Sinking the prices several degrees below what they have been heretofore, or could possibly be under the old system.

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By dispensing with certain clerks no longer needed, it reduces "Store Expenses."

By enforcing CASH Payments, the bad debts are avoided.

By putting plenty of ready money in hand, it enables us to buy goods at figures that credit men know nothing about.

By increase of sales, a smaller profit on each article is sufficient.

All of these "By-Ways" lead direct to CHEAPNESS; and this without lowering the quality or style of our celebrated make of

MEN'S and BOYS' CLOTHING.

SOME OTHER THINGS wherein our plan differs from others:

- (a) It combines all the good points which exist, separately or in partial combination, and it adds some new and important features.
- (b) It gives such a guarantee as no house in the world, to our knowledge, ever ventured to give as a rule.
- (c) It makes our goods equivalent to checks on a bank, whenever they are presented unworn and uninjured.
- (d) It has the great advantage of an immense business already established, to sustain the "New Constitution," and under no other circumstances could so many radical concessions to customers be made.

We have for years been working toward the present point, and, though naturally falling into the current methods of trade, we observed and noted the defects of the old systems, and have been carefully weighing for a long time these newer plans, and preparing for this ENTIRE CHANGE OF BASE.

We now Swing Clear of All Combinations, and Burn the Bridges behind us.

Investigation Is Asked Into All We Have Here Put Forth.

Staking the hard-earned and fought-for reputation of our house (of which we confess we are proud) on the faithful and exact fulfillment of all the promises and conditions herein laid down.

On this new and, in many respects, Original Plan, we launch the Oak Hall Craft on Saturday Next, bound for Fall Trade, and by our

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experience in trade, and all our knowledge of human nature, we are led to anticipate that

Marvelous and Unprecedented Increase of Business For Which We Are Well Prepared.

Our warehouses, comprising 27 spacious rooms, are stocked to the full; our home mills have been turning out large quantities of goods to us that are now in store, and foreign fabrics by the shipload are now on our counters. Our workmen have been a small army, and as diligent and skillful as they are numerous. With the improvements already noted, there are also new styles, new colors, new cuts and more careful finishing. Everything possible has been done to meet and gratify the rush, and now LET IT BEGIN.

WANAMAKER'S—The largest Clothing House in America.

The long credits and bad debts to which Wanamaker referred in these advertisements were an outgrowth of the vicious system of those days in letting people buy "on tick," without first establishing a basis of credit and with no regularity of payment. Every little corner store was following this practice. Customers would have "pass books" in which purchases were written down. Payments in many cases were made infrequently, usually only when the store said: "No more goods until you pay something on account." Often farm produce was taken in lieu of money. The debt kept piling up until the store finally said "no more tick." The customer then went to another store and opened another pass book. Large stores, like A. T. Stewart's, tried to limit credit to six months, but even this failed to stop the disastrous habit into which the public had fallen. "Cash payment" was the only remedy. This John Wanamaker boldly announced, though he said "we shall lose some of our customers, no doubt." Stewart, also, swung over to cash.

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In later years, when the public began to understand and employ the real use of credit, properly established and regulated, both Wanamaker and Stewart granted the privilege of opening charge accounts payable monthly. This practice is now followed generally.

"We think people save money by opening accounts," John Wanamaker said after many years' experience with charge accounts, "simply because they are not spending money out of their pockets uncounted and then forgetting how much they are spending; but if they have a bill sent to them at the end of the month, and particularly if father or mother has to look it over, it is in fact good for them to see what they are spending." The charge account system thus became the basis for the budget system of today, by which both nations and families are now regulating their expenditures. The Wanamaker Home Budget Service, first to be established in any store, is an example of this new thrift.

John Wanamaker was always doing the thing that was of most service to the public at the time. Following this principle he boxed the business compass in some things, in the course of his long career. But he was true to the public. Service was his North Star.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW ERA IN BUSINESS

THAT green John Wanamaker is crazy," people were saying as it became known that he had purchased in 1875 the old Grand Depot of the Pennsylvania Railroad at 13th and Market Streets. It was an old freight station, consisting of rambling sheds, in and out of which for twenty years freight cars had been drawn by mule power—a dozen mules chained together one in front of the other, led by a well-trained horse. Except at the 13th Street corner where there was a four-story brick building used as offices, the rest of the structure was only a series of one-story wooden sheds, ranging from ten feet high at the eaves to thirty feet at the ridges, with many doors along the 200-foot Market Street frontage. The property extended from 13th to Juniper and from Market to Kelly, the latter being a street now closed, about two-thirds of the distance to Chestnut Street.

From a business viewpoint the Grand Depot was too far uptown—beyond the business district. To be sure, fine old residences were there. The City High School had been there, and the State Arsenal and the U. S. Mint. Across the way the new City Hall, largest in the world, was beginning to rise out of the ground. But as a place for business! No business could be successful there, it must stay in the business section. Wanamaker's Oak Hall and his Chestnut Street

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store were already in the business section—why move away?

But Wanamaker was wiser than the people. He did not move away. He kept both stores intact. But he had a new idea for a new kind of store. And he wanted a new place, with plenty of room, for this new idea to grow and flower. This was his reasoning, as he later told the story himself:

“About 1874 the Pennsylvania Railroad offered for sale its freight depot at Broad and Market streets, as the erection of the public buildings there was an obstacle to running in their tracks, and they retired two or three squares to the west. The idea came to me that it was the greatest situation for a large store, but I was perplexed and frightened at the idea of making such a purchase. I could afford it, but with our Pennsylvania caution it seemed like almost a reckless thing to do. What am I to do with my two other stores, I thought; and then it occurred to me that at my home at Cheltenham Hills I had once planted, after removal, a line of trees, and that two of them died because they were too old to transplant. I thought to myself that perhaps the business places I have are too old to transplant, and I let them stay and took up the new undertaking as a third operation. There began my establishment. The ground cost me upwards of \$500,000. They said when I began that I was going to close up all the merchants in Philadelphia and be a tyrant of the trade. The contrary result has happened. The stores all around me and throughout the city have multiplied and are better. At times we have them counted to note their increase. The fact was that business in Philadelphia had gone along in the same ancient way so long that innovation was almost a duty.”

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The location at Thirteenth and Market was not then the hub of the city as it is today between the Pennsylvania and Reading Railroad terminals. There were eight railroad stations in Philadelphia in 1876 and all were distant from the Grand Depot, reached only by horse cars. The New York and Belvidere division of the Pennsylvania Railroad had its terminal at Thirty-second and Market streets, and other roads terminated across the Schuylkill. The Reading lines ended on Berks at Third and on Green at Ninth street.

But Wanamaker sensed that the city would grow up around the new City Hall. The people, not so foresighted, were amazed. "All Philadelphia wondered what in the world John Wanamaker would do with such a large piece of property so far uptown" said a citizen of that day in a reminiscence. "The consensus of opinion was that the purchase would prove a ruinous one. The idea seemed chimerical in the extreme—to start a clothing store so far from the general current of retail traffic and of such dimensions as seemed to be beyond the possibility of success."

Wanamaker had now gone to Europe to make some purchases for his business, and did not hear these mutterings of threatened disaster. And, indeed, the news of his deal with the Pennsylvania Railroad came only when George H. Stuart, Joshua L. Baily and Alexander Whildin asked Colonel Thomas A. Scott, the president of the railroad, whether they could rent the Grand Depot for revival meetings to be held by Moody and Sankey, who were then holding their famous series of religious meetings in various parts of the country and who were invited to come to Philadelphia.

"John Wanamaker has made an offer for the Grand

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Depot," Colonel Scott told his visitors, much to their surprise. Wanamaker was reached by cable. "You may have the Grand Depot," he replied, "for \$1 with repossession on thirty days' notice."

When the offer was accepted Wanamaker came home at once. He knew Moody. He had entertained him in his home. He was interested in his revivals. He was eager to help him. "The new store can wait a few months for its opening; the Lord's business first," he said.

The first Moody and Sankey meeting was held on Sunday, November 21, 1875, at 8 o'clock in the morning and 10,960 people attended. The meetings continued until January 28, 1876, having a total attendance of over a million at a cost of \$40,000. During this time Moody was the guest of Wanamaker, and the two labored hand in hand, together with George H. Stuart and others on the committee.

Wanamaker was the practical manager. When Stuart ordered "all the chairs the Grand Depot can hold"—8900 for the main floor, 1300 for the platform, Wanamaker said: "add eight more and we'll squeeze them in—exact numbers make a bigger impression than round numbers—if the newspapers announce that we have 8904 seats for the audience and 1304 for the speakers and choir the people will remember the figures." (All through his later advertising Wanamaker followed this practice—insisting on announcing the exact figures—"tell the exact quantity and the people will believe; round numbers sound as though you are merely guessing.")

Wanamaker had already shown his genius for organization and execution of big projects in the part he played in

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arranging the Centennial Exhibition soon to open in Philadelphia. He was one of the fifteen members of the Board of Finance appointed by President Grant in 1873, the panic year, and when City Councils delayed in appropriating the \$75,000 asked, he, with the aid of a women's committee, caused petitions to be circulated and hauled in wheel-barrows to the City Fathers, who then capitulated and voted the money. He was chairman of the "inside" finance committee, chairman of the bureau of revenue and press committees, and a member of the bureau of subscriptions. He not only helped to raise the necessary funds, but he "sold" the Centennial to the country at large through his work with the press, directing the nation-wide press campaign. He designed and had printed the stock certificates. He handled the subscription books. He solicited subscriptions personally and by letter. He even organized a volunteer force to go to Fairmount Park with picks and shovels and begin "to dig," when it seemed impossible to get the buildings started in any other way. With his work finished, the Centennial ready to open, Wanamaker retired to his business, leaving to others the credit—after having served as chairman of the celebration at Independence Hall on July 4, 1876.

But Wanamaker's was not a one-track mind. Along with his church and Sunday school and revival activities, and his labors for the Centennial, he was thinking of his business. He came home from Europe in 1875 with many new ideas crystallizing in his brain. On this trip he had studied the big dry-goods stores of Paris—especially the Bon Marché founded by Boucicaut, and the Louvre founded by

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Chaucard. He saw that the great roominess of the Grand Depot would lend itself to a kind of store that would be in itself a great exposition. He was ready to have his store become part of the Centennial itself, to compete with that enterprise in the attention of the public.

Immediately upon the conclusion of the Moody and Sankey meetings he took possession of the old freight sheds and workmen began to remodel the buildings for the new store. The changes that were made in the exterior were in line with the gala buildings being erected for the Centennial celebration.

This was to be the first world exposition in America. His new store was to be part of it. So he squared up the front, ran up double stories at the entrances and on the corners flew flags from pagoda-like towers wherever he could place them—and his new store was an exposition building, too, ready for the great influx of visitors to the city.

The name John Wanamaker ran full length on one side of the building—"the most colossal sign I ever saw," said a startled visiting merchant.

Stocking the building with a half million dollars' worth of men's and boys' clothing, the new store opened May 6, 1876. He manufactured much of his clothing on the premises. He installed the new steam-power cloth cutters, cutting a dozen or more thicknesses at a time—just as they were operating at the Centennial Exhibition.

There was no more floor space than at Oak Hall—two acres—but there the space was piled up on six floors one above the other, here it was stretched out on the ground—and the area seemed immense. "Too big to succeed," visitors

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said of the new enterprise. But they kept coming by the thousands, and soon they were asking: "Why don't you open a general dry-goods store?"

Wanamaker's reply was already in evidence. Gradually he had begun to add various stocks of women's wear. But he had something greater in mind—a new kind of store.

With the Centennial ended, and Philadelphia normal again, he saw that he had a gigantic problem to solve—to create a store that would keep on drawing crowds equal to those that flocked to the World's Fair. His must become a permanent national exposition, and on a world scale. So quietly he sent messengers abroad to procure new merchandise and he himself went into the home markets. Early in 1877 his New Kind of Store was ready—with the floor laid out like a huge seven-spoke wheel, aisles radiating from a common center.

On March 3, 1877, a double-column advertisement appeared in all of the Philadelphia papers, and it was repeated for a week, announcing:

The inauguration of the Dry Goods Business at the Grand Depot will take place March 12, from 9 to 6 o'clock.

—JOHN WANAMAKER.

An explanation of the new departure was given in interview form in the Philadelphia *Times* as follows:

"So you are going to start the Dry Goods Business?"

"Yes!"

"What is your idea, Mr. Wanamaker, in doing it?"

"To do in Ladies' goods just what we have done with Men's goods—first in getting Clothing for the people at reasonable prices; then in reducing the prices of Shoes; then in lowering the cost of Hats. All these are Men's and Children's goods. Now, then, we propose to turn

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our attention to Women's goods, hoping to bring about beneficial results."

"But this is not in your line?"

"Why not, who has a patent on merchandising? We never questioned the right of the Dry Goods stores that began to sell Clothing, nor would we doubt the propriety of dealing in any article that we pleased. If we were just starting in business who would consider it proper to question what business we chose to follow?"

"But you have a large business already."

"So we have, and we worked sixteen years for it, and with the large property we now have we can do a great deal more business with no more expense for rent, taxes, gas, and only the addition of needed clerk hire. This is a great advantage for introducing a new department."

"What is the tendency of large establishments?"

"Well, the moment the doors of the new Dry Goods Department open the prices will go down throughout the city."

(Note.—This afterwards proved to be the fact.)

"Why do you suppose that?"

"Because the more competition the better it is for a community—the better the people are served."

"What is your plan in conducting the Dry Goods Business?"

"First. To secure superior men in each department whose undoubted ability will guarantee a good stock.

"Second. To sell only good makes of goods.

"Third. To stick to One Price.

"Fourth. To mark all the stock uniformly low.

"Fifth. To exchange all kinds of goods."

"What, you don't mean to exchange a pattern cut off for a dress?"

"Yes, just that and more—we shall give back the money paid if desired!"

"Why, never was such a thing heard of in the Dry Goods business!"

"Exactly so, and the Grand Depot, at Thirteenth and Market, will in that and some other respects be unlike any other store.

"What effect will this have on other storekeepers?"

"That is not the question: the real question to be considered is whether the people will be served by it or not—it is not the few that

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are to be thought of, but the many. To answer a polite question, however, unquestionably the new store must have an excellent effect on the city business—two roads to New York serve the city better than one would—by its uniformly moderate prices it will compel low prices everywhere; it will stimulate every one to do their best to serve their patrons; it will attract, by its mammoth stock and its conveniences, crowds of people from the country, who buy all kinds of goods of our neighbors, the Furniture, Glassware and Stove stores, Harness, Grocery and other stores; it will bring money to Philadelphia that otherwise would not come here; it will give employment to hundreds of people, many of whom would otherwise be idle.”

On Saturday, March 10, the store stated its new purpose, in an announcement especially “to the ladies,” to whom the business was now intended to appeal. It read as follows:

NEXT MONDAY THE GRAND INAUGURATION OF THE
DRY GOODS BUSINESS AT THE GRAND DEPOT,
JOHN WANAMAKER, THIRTEENTH STREET
AND NEW CITY HALL.

TO THE LADIES.

TO THE LADIES.

In introducing the Dry Goods business as the principal feature at the Grand Depot for merchandise (Thirteenth Street and new City Hall), it seems proper to say that the growth of the city and the accommodation of the public seemed to call for such a central and extensive point for shopping.

From the first day we opened the “Grand Depot” the Ladies have inquired, “Why don’t you open a Dry Goods Department?”

The answer is now given.

The Dry Goods Department is a fact! All that large capital, sixteen years’ experience as retailers, studying the wants of the people, splendid location, remarkable store-room, uncommon facilities to buy goods cheaply, loyalty to customers’ interests—all that these advantages combine are offered to the people.

Notice is drawn to the fact that every yard of goods has either been freshly imported or purchased under the advantages of gold almost at par.

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Under One Roof and on One Floor May Be Found Conveniently
Arranged the Following Departments:

A—Black and Colored Silks.

B—Mourning Goods.

C—Dress Goods.

D—Ladies' Furnishing Goods.

E—Woolens, Boys' Wear, Ladies' Cloakings, Etc.

F—Flannels and Domestics.

G—Linens and House Furnishing Goods.

H—White Goods and Embroideries, Etc.

J—Upholstery.

K—Boys' and Misses' Suits.

L—Ladies' Suits and Coats, Shawls, Etc.

M—Hats and Caps.

N—Gents' Furnishings Goods.

O—Gents' and Boys' Shoes, Ladies' and Misses' Shoes, Rubber Goods, Trunks, Etc., Etc.

P—Men's Clothing.

Q—Custom Department, to make to order.

Nothing need be said about prices, as our manner of dealing not only protects customers, but insures the lowest prices. This system, originated by Mr. Wanamaker, is adhered to in all departments, viz.:

First—Return of money if buyer returns goods in ten days uninjured.

Second—The guarantee to each buyer, stating terms of sale.

Third—No second price.

Fourth—Any article (including cut goods) may be exchanged if desired, within two weeks of sale.

For the convenience of customers a new entrance is being opened from Chestnut Street, about midway between Thirteenth Street and the U. S. Mint.

The kindly support of the Philadelphia public, so uniformly generous in the past sixteen years, is confidently expected in this new Department, providing it is deserved, and not otherwise.

Will the people come on Monday, or at their leisure, and see what we have done?

Most respectfully,

JOHN WANAMAKER.

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"Support is expected—provided it is deserved"—and "will the people come—at their leisure?" Confidence and goodwill, mutuality and hospitality formed the basis on which he invited patronage.

The New Kind of Store opened March 12, 1877, and seventy thousand people visited it on the opening day, as reported by a local newspaper the following morning:

"From the hours the doors were thrown open yesterday morning until they closed at 8 o'clock in the evening a constant stream of sight-seers and patrons thronged the vast building. At an estimate, based upon a count made for one hour, 70,106 persons visited the establishment. The building was so jammed at one time that Mr. Wanamaker seriously contemplated closing the doors, and allowing only a limited number in at one time. The number of employees in the building yesterday was 654 and only by the most assiduous industry were they able to wait on all the customers."

John W. Forney, famous editor of the *Philadelphia Press*, visited the store and said to Wanamaker: "This idea of yours has excited the town. I stand by you on the old proverb: the greatest good to the greatest number."

A few days before, General Ulysses S. Grant, about to start on his trip around the world, had visited the store and had said to Wanamaker as he viewed the vastness of the undertaking and the crowds of customers: "It requires as much generalship to organize a business like this as to organize an army." George W. Childs, editor of the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, told of the visit:

"General Grant left the White House on March 4, and

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came at once to Philadelphia before starting on his tour of the world. In making his preparations he had no idea of the reception that awaited him. It was on the eve of his departure while he and Mrs. Grant were my guests that I suggested the necessity of his taking his uniform and sword. Uniform General Grant no longer owned, but one we soon got at Wanamaker's, and his swords were all deposited in Washington, but one was hastily sent for."

Later Wanamaker said: "I had the pleasure of knowing General Grant very well. The citizens of Philadelphia gave him a house, and he lived a great deal in Philadelphia. He used to come to see this organization of ours that then was a great thing in Philadelphia. I learned some things from the old general. One was that he made his captains very careful and attentive. Under the old slouch hat of his was a good head and he mapped out the work that he had to do in a very careful and systematic way. I learned also that he kept very close to his men; they understood him, they believed in him and they stood by him as perhaps they stood by no other general that you can remember in your lifetime."

But with all the hurrah and enthusiasm of the opening, the New Kind of Store had hard going the first year. Small merchants, thinking their businesses were jeopardized, started rumors. They were taken up by a certain type of scandal-mongering newspaper, common in those days, in which Wanamaker did not advertise. Here is a sample published August 31, 1877:

There's trouble in the big Market Street Wigwam. Protests, extensions, unpaid employees, etc., etc. Not long ago, we predicted that

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somebody would soon meet the fate of the over-ambitious frog in the fable, which tried and tried to swell itself up to the size of an ox, and busted itself. Somebody has been trying to swell himself up to the mercantile dimensions of the late A. T. Stewart, and an explosion is imminent.

“’Twas ever thus!” But there has been something more than foolish ambition and imprudence in this case. There has been a greedy, grasping and godless spirit at work in the mind of somebody, prompting him to break down other businesses and absorb almost every branch of mercantile business in his own establishment. Herein crops out, in a very offensive form, the ambition to imitate A. T. Stewart, who was one of the meanest men and merchants that ever lived. He squelched hundreds of smaller dealers without compunction and ground his employees into the very dust of humiliation and impecuniosity; and his ambitious Philadelphia prototype, on a smaller scale, has been trying to play the same heartless game. But, this Philadelphia merchant has had to cope with some very solid business men, and he has found that he has been butting his poor head against some very stubborn stone walls. He’s in danger. He is walking on the thin crust of a volcano which threatens to blow him and his wigwam sky-high, scattering hats and haberdashery, shoes and chemisettes, collars and cuffs, trunks and teapots, lawns and linens, boots and broadcloth, furs and flannels to the four winds.”

There was something back of the financial rumors, for on September 3, 1877, Wanamaker wrote to his friend William Libbey, of A. T. Stewart’s:

“Thank you from the bottom of my heart for proving to me that there was one man in New York who believed in me. Though I am brave as a lion and strong as a mule and just as tough, yet I can pull better and stand up longer if I can hear one manly man give a cheer.

“Your letter set me up for a week at least and came when I needed it most. This village has been like a heated furnace for a week past and New York must have caught the blaze. But I

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believe the thing has burnt itself out. The open boast is made and has been made here (by Dry Goods people that you know) for weeks past that they would spend fabulous sums 'to run John Wanamaker out' and every lie that could be concocted has gone the rounds thoroughly.

"I have my coat off and am at it night and day—my confidence in the Grand Depot to distribute five millions is unshaken and as you have so grandly stood by me, when I fail to stick by you my name will no longer be

Yours gratefully,

JNO. WANAMAKER."

On September 4, he again wrote to Libbey:

"The enclosed is to prove that the howl is not over. It was sent me this morning from New York by a party to whom it was sent from here and I learned from other sources that a large number of these advertisements were sent to the importers and large houses of your city.

"A gentleman here who took pains quietly to trace up who owned electric pens in this city (with which the writing was done) fastens the infamous thing pretty close upon ———. There is, as you see, the most determined effort to cripple me and prevent me getting goods.

"McCreery sent the few goods Haffleigh selected 'as novelties.'

"Jaffray hung fire and Arnold Constable's came along.

"Full of hope and determination to win with God's blessing.

Yours as ever,

JNO. WANAMAKER."

And on October 1:

"As one warm day after another has slipped away and my receipts have disappointed me and the remittances that I promised myself to make to you had to be withheld I felt I ought to write you to be patient for a few days longer.

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"The fact is I have paid off nearly all that I owe to others that is overdue and when I get a few goods out of the Customs House that I was foolish enough to have bought abroad I shall have little to do but to pay you. I know I can pay all the money I owe you but I never expect to get out of debt to you what I owe you for kindnesses which I hope soon to talk over with you.

"I am glad to fling into some people's faces that you and your house are the exception in dunning me for payments. I mean to have it remain so by pouring money in to you soon."

The rumors of impending failure reached Wanamaker's former pastor, Rev. Samuel T. Lowrie, then a professor in Western Theological Seminary in Pittsburgh, Pa., who wrote this comforting letter:

"I have been wanting very much to write to you ever since I came home. . . . The trouble is to know what to write. My desire to write arises solely from my concern about you in the trials that now encompass your business life. Of course, I know nothing exactly about them. But from what all are saying, I can only apprehend that they are very great, and that even your whole fortune may be imperiled.

"You are much spoken against, and in addition to the common risks of business at this time, you have to contend against verbal, perhaps actual, conspiracy to ruin you financially. Almost everything I know about your difficulties comes from yourself, either directly or through Mrs. Lowrie. How my heart aches at the thought of what a trial this experience must be to you, and I suffer with you every day.

"If your present venture in the Grand Depot should fail, it will have this advantage, that you will be free to lay hold on all the consolations that are so rich to God's children in times of trial and defeat. One of the precious consolations is that you may rely on God Himself to make evident in due time the purity of your motives, and the simplicity and guilelessness of your life.

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"If the combination referred to has actually brought your business to a condition that places your whole fortune in risk, I can easily sympathize with the keenness of your regrets. I say regrets, because you will already have been brought where it was your purpose not to be. I have known your aim has been to put your business on a solid foundation and to conduct it with the guarantee of safe continuance that might challenge comparison with any other business in the world. I believed that you had attained that position with full assurance years ago. Of course, you have meant to maintain the happy eminence you reached at Oak Hall. The many fortunes that have become involved in yours all call upon you to do this, and no one would feel the call more than you.

"If then your present situation is that of actual risk and possible loss of all, I know that you already suffer a sense of loss far greater than most men would feel at the actual disaster of fortune and business all in ruins, no matter if in the end you come out successful or not. . . . But I cannot contemplate the likelihood of disaster in your business; for besides having got to believe in you, I am still more used to expecting God's blessing upon your business and that He will use you and it to bless men, and to show how good it is to trust in Him. But it is quite consistent with both of these latter convictions to fear that you may have come to a situation where all you have may be in peril. . . .

"If you are tempted to think that men and even friends are turning their backs on you, do not yield to it. Do not even interpret the silence of friends in that way. If you knew with how much shrinking I write this letter in spite of my repeated promptings to write it, you would not do so, for I am strangely withheld from it by the thought that you may think what I am saying quite superfluous. It will be a holiday with me when I know that your ship has weathered this storm, and, with all on board, is sailing in an even sea, under a serene sky, like the old *Scotia* when fairly past the Banks and the icebergs."

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It was this faith referred to by Dr. Lowrie that kept the store going. Looking back upon those early days, Wanamaker often spoke of "being led." In 1916 he said:

"I had no experience whatever when I opened the New Kind of Store, except the retail clothing business and then I had only 18 years of that. I was very young. I just pushed along as the way opened and our coming to 13th and Market was an accident because we had to have more room at Sixth and Market (Oak Hall) and were unable to get it next door. How in the world I ever sat alongside of Thomas A. Scott and agreed to pay the money to buy this property I do not know. Well, I think we were led, and I think we are still being led."

The "ship" did "weather the storm" as Dr. Lowrie had hoped, and on March 12, 1878, in celebrating the first anniversary of the opening of the New Kind of Store Wanamaker was able to make this announcement:

"It seems a fitting time to present our best respects to all those who have helped in the new undertaking. As many persons have considered the enterprise an experiment, and as many more express a manifestly warm interest in building up in Philadelphia an establishment the like of which New York has had for a long time, it seems proper to say that the business done at the Grand Depot during the year just closed fully confirms our expectations, and settles to the complete satisfaction of the writer all doubts about its success. The facts prove beyond question that never before in one year were so many goods retailed in Philadelphia by one house. This, in the face of the times and with an imperfect,

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untried and hurried organization, encourages us to believe that with the experience now had, the coming year will find us giving far better service to our customers than was possible in the past, and this we are sure will add to the successful running of our establishment that we never believed Philadelphia too small to need.

“Our faith in the future of Philadelphia made it easy to make our plans by a large scale and there is, so far, no reason to be disappointed, nor do we expect there will be. We labor to increase the importance of the city; add to its employment and increase the convenience of shopping to the 817,000 of her residents, and the 810,000 more whose homes are in the outlying towns and villages, to whom Philadelphia ought to be an attractive resort. The floating population that made our streets so lively and our stores so busy during 1876, may become permanent by due enterprise and joint action of Philadelphia business men.”

Here was a call to the pride and patriotism of Philadelphia which Wanamaker was to keep sounding as long as he lived.

CHAPTER VII

THE NEW KIND OF STORE EXPLAINED

IT was the little country store to which people all around went for everything they wanted that gave the idea of this first city store of its kind," said Wanamaker in 1916.

The first general store anywhere is always the peddler with his pack. As villages grow he locates in the community. As the wants of the people multiply he enlarges and diversifies his stock.

But here now in the Grand Depot of 1877 was a new kind of store in America. "Old residents of Philadelphia and merchants generally living at that time," said Wanamaker in one of his talks in 1921, "will certify this statement that no business venture in any city in the United States created such a sensation. It was not wholly because the store was on one floor but it was operated on a different and entirely new basis of store-keeping from any then existing, as follows:

"First—The Store was a place to visit, to enjoy, without any obligation to buy or to be asked or questioned.

"Second—The vast area of space allotted to the many kinds of merchandise displayed made it seem more like a museum than a store.

"Third—To be able to get such a large variety of articles under one roof was not only a convenience, but a great saving of time, strength and shoe leather.

"Fourth—People could have goods charged on monthly accounts, which was not the custom fifty years ago.

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"Fifth—All merchandise was guaranteed as trustworthy, and everything was returnable, not for exchange, but for cash to be refunded whenever in same condition as when delivered.

"Sixth—One price only was fixed and marked in plain figures and no deviation allowed.

"Seventh—An entirely new innovation was introduced in providing public comforts of free rest rooms, toilets, telegraph and postal facilities and package and baggage checking rooms, without charge.

"Old residents still living, whose memory will be as good as that of the writer will tell you that the worthy keepers of small stores were up in arms against 'any such store.' Proof exists that they organized to break down the credit and to create public opinion to not support the venture of 'a man that has gone crazy.'"

The opposition to which Wanamaker referred was quickly reflected in the advertisements of other merchants. One of these announced:

"We expect to retain and increase our present large trade by giving better value for the money than we have ever offered. Our cheap location enables us to do it. Our small expenses enable us to do it!"

Another merchant advertised:

"On and after Monday, March 1, we will offer our entire stock of dry goods at cost for cash. Our cost-mark is:

DONT GIVE UP

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

"We will sell from today our entire regular stock at cost; as we give you our cost-mark any person can look at our tickets and find the exact cost of every item in our store, letters standing for figures as above."

The fight became general—"not selling for cost, but at prices as low as our neighbor's professed cost prices," announced another store.

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And still another: "\$50,000 worth of dry goods at twenty to thirty per cent less than they formerly cost us to buy, being determined not to be undersold by any in the trade"—Wanamaker competition was bringing down prices.

But some merchants were yet unconverted to the new order of trading. One naïvely advertised: "Dry goods at one price—that is, the price the customer and I can agree upon."

Wanamaker hospitality in store-keeping was also bearing fruits—"our employees make it a point to give those who call polite attention," said a rival.

The New Kind of Store that now began to carry all kinds of merchandise was also ridiculed in a mock advertisement in the Philadelphia *Sunday Gazette* (a sensation-mongering newspaper without character or standing) of April 8, 1877:

Billions of Millions!

more or less, of Ladies and Gentlemen, Boys and Girls, Spitzdogs and Poodles, have visited our Immense Emporium during the first week of its existence and the mammoth headquarters of Monopoly is now an established fact, and must remain a monument to the Gullibility of the Public as long as there is a Public to be gulled. All of our Departments are thoroughly stocked with miscellaneous merchandise for Culinary Purposes and our attendants are constantly prepared to wait on cash customers.

Something New.

Our incomparable combined Mince Pie Meat Cutter and Mixer, Onion Peeler, Potato Parer, Dish Washer, Fire Tenderer, and Front Door Answerer—a Triumph of Modern Mechanism, invented and perfected by Ourselves. This ingenious machine will enable Housekeepers to dispense entirely with servants. All that they have to do is to buy one of these Wonderful Machines, wind it up, set it going, lock up the house, come to our Emporium, and be happy.

Our visiting patrons may now obtain choice Southern shad, war-

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ranted to have been caught in seines made by Worth of Paris. His private business mark is stamped on every fin of each shad.

Ten Button Kid Lobsters.

A large line of these fashionable crustaceans has just been secured, being the unconsumed balance of an ancient fisherman's declining business—because we coaxed all his employees away from him.

Iron-Clad Crabs.

An improved and succulent variety of the Hard-shell species. These crabs are economical, one of them going a long ways, even in a large family.

Trained Oysters.

At an enormous outlay we have secured several large beds of thoroughly trained oysters. These bivalves may be kept in cold cellars for any length of time. When wanted, the cook has but to whistle for them as though they were pet dogs. On hearing the familiar sound the educated bivalves come into the kitchen by dozens, open themselves, and jump into the stewing pan, or into the frying pan, as may be desired.

At the time Wanamaker gave no public attention to these attacks. But in 1900, at the annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science held in Philadelphia, he answered them all and gave a clear insight into his "new kind of store-keeping" in an address on "The Evolution of Mercantile Business," which he was invited to make.

"I contend that the department store development would not be here," he said, "but for its service to society; that it has done a public service in retiring middlemen; that its organization neither denies rights to others nor claims privileges of State franchises or favoritism of national tariff laws; that if there is any suffering from it, it is by the pressure of competition and not from the pressure of monopoly. I con-

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tend that so long as competition is not suppressed by law, monopolies cannot exist in store-keeping, and that the one quarter of the globe which cannot be captured by trusts is almost assuredly that of the mercantile trading world.

"I hold that the evolution in trade was inevitable, because it was water-logged by old customs that overtaxed purchasers; that there was at work for a long time a resistless force moving towards the highest good of humanity; that the profit therefrom to individuals who have risked their own capital, as any man may still do if he choose, has been insignificant, compared to the people benefited both by the cheapening of the comforts of life and by the improved conditions of persons employed.

"I believe the new American system of store-keeping is the most powerful factor yet discovered to compel minimum prices. Perhaps some one will ask what effect reduced prices of merchandise have upon labor. It is a noticeable fact that lowered prices stimulate consumption and require additional labor in producing, transporting and distributing. The care of such large stocks, amounting in one single store upon an average at all times to between five and six millions of dollars, and the preparation of and handling, from reserves to forward stocks, require large corps of men.

"Under old conditions of store-keeping a man and his wife or daughter did all the work between daylight and midnight. The new systems make shorter hours of duty and thus the number of employees is increased, while many entirely new avenues of employment for women are opened, as typewriters, stenographers, cashiers, check-clerks, inspectors, wrappers, mailing clerks, and the like. The division of

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labor creates many places for talented and high-priced men, whose salaries range alongside of presidents of banks and trust companies and similar important positions. It is universally admitted that the sanitary conditions which surround the employees of the large stores are better than in the old-time smaller stores and that employees are considerably better paid."

And then he explained the evolution that had come to pass:

"The first notable change in the conduct of commercial affairs was the partial withdrawal of agencies, commission houses and jobbing houses from both New York and Philadelphia, and the establishment of offices and warehouses in the western cities in the interest of lower freight rates and saving of time and expense to buyers coming from the west to the east.

"Before the Civil War, the transaction of business in producing and distributing merchandise required many agencies; the manufacturer, importer, commission men, banks, jobbers, commercial travelers and retailers.

"Until 1880 trade rules limited the sales of manufacturers to commission men, and those of commission houses to jobbers, so that the only door open to retailers was the jobber, whose goods were loaded, when they reached the retailer, with three or four unavoidable profits.

"The conditions governing the placing of goods in the retailers' hands were not only heavily weighted with expense, but in the main the retail merchant was badly handicapped as a rule by small capital commonly borrowed by long credit for merchandise—necessity for selling upon

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credit—impossibility of utilizing to advantage store and people at all seasons of the year—necessity of larger percentage of profit and non-accumulation of capital.

“The Centennial of 1876 was, in my judgment, the moving cause of a departure toward business by single ownership. The rising tide of popular desire to assemble under one roof articles used in every home with freedom to purchase was a constant suggestion in 1876, not alone because of its convenience, but because to some degree it would form a permanent exhibition company which succeeded the Centennial. Being located in Fairmount Park and not in the business center, and without skilled management, the scheme was abandoned in a short time.

“Up to 1877, so far as is now known, no extensive well-organized mercantile retail establishment upon a large scale existed in the United States. The nearest approach was the A. T. Stewart store in New York, which limited itself to dry goods of the higher class. Later it took on lower classes of goods and wider range, but still with limited scope.

“The Centennial Exhibition in 1876 opened a new vision to the people of the United States. It was the corner stone upon which manufacturers everywhere were rebuilding their business to new fabrics and fashions, and they became more courageous by reason of the lessons taught them from the exhibits of the nations of the world.

“Almost simultaneously, in a number of cities, long established stores gradually enlarged and new stores sprang up to group at one point masses of merchandise in great variety.

“Though there was probably never a time in any city that there were not bankruptcies of merchants, yet after the open-

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ing of the large stores, it everywhere became common with store-keepers and traders to charge all the causes of the disaster to the large stores then and now commonly called department stores, and a successful attempt was made to decry them as monopolies.

"For the time being, and even now, to some extent, prejudice and perhaps selfishness blinds a part of every community upon public questions. The inequality and the unequal applications of individuals must always carry some to the top and others to the lower places in all walks of life.

"The evolution in mercantile business during the last quarter of the century has been wrought, not by combinations of capital, corporations or trusts, but by the unusual growth of individual mercantile enterprises born of new conditions out of the experiences, mistakes and losses of old-time trading. The underlying basis of the new order of business and its principal claim for favor is that it distributes to the consumer in substance or cash the compounded earnings hitherto wasted on middlemen."

Still later Mr. Wanamaker summed up his ideas and ideals in this statement:

"The Store of Today is the outgrowth of a rapid succession of movements in retail merchandising beginning at these four corners (his Philadelphia Store).

"Selecting from a mass of events, the new empire of retailing modeled here—

"Established inflexible one-price.

"Established the return of undesired purchases as a matter of justice.

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"Established a different scale of consideration of employees and a system of education of them.

"It revolutionized the daily newspaper business and advertising methods."

"The store of today demands for its patrons—

"Safety and sanitary constructions of the buildings used by the public.

"Uprightness in public announcements and private transactions.

"An insistence that everyone is entitled to value for value.

"This store of today never was and never will be of the class known as 'department store.' It does not deal in liquors, groceries, drugs or 'everything that can be sold at a profit,' but its method is to assemble under one roof a collection of complete and exclusive stores better than the majority of specialty stores.

"In actuality it is the '*First American System Store*.' It started at a time when store-keeping was in such a state that a man going into a shop to buy goods went cautiously as he would go into the forest in search of game. Today it is a part of a new civilization, in which there is an honor between merchant and customer. Other stores throughout the United States and the entire world have adopted much of our system, and the nearer they approach our ideas the gladder we are, for we believe they will have a greater success."

CHAPTER VIII

WANAMAKER "FIRSTS"

THIS "First American System Store" developed so fast after 1876, and the originations and innovations were so many, that it is possible to present here only a chronological record, taken from the Wanamaker advertisements of each year. These records constitute a series of "Wanamaker firsts" that are without parallel in the evolution of store-keeping, showing decisively that John Wanamaker was America's greatest merchant pioneer.

1876

First restaurant in a general store.

Summer vacations with pay extended to all employees of six months' service.

Mail order business inaugurated in a 9 x 12 foot room.

Buyers first sent abroad to study foreign markets and "skim the cream."

Women's and misses' shoes, coats and furs, hosiery and gloves and trunks added to the stocks.

"Annual lowering day" first announced—"to keep the stocks fresh."

1877

Formal opening of the New Kind of Store, with these stocks: silks, black goods, dress goods, ladies' furnishing goods, woolens, flannels, and domestics, linens, white goods, women's shawls,

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women's suits, upholstery; boys' and men's suits, men's and boys' hats and caps, men's furnishings, shoes, rubber goods, trunks, etc., men's custom tailoring; all offered "under the regular Wanamaker guarantee," the first time that dry goods had been thus definitely offered to the public—March 12.

"Opportunity Sale"—February.

"Midsummer Sale"—July.

"Early Fall Sale"—September.

"Lady-like costumes, coats, cloaks, and wraps from Berlin, Paris and elsewhere" announced—October.

Laces added, including scarfs, ties, neckerchiefs, handkerchiefs—November.

Books added—December.

"Grand Depot illuminated until 9 o'clock every evening until Christmas"—December.

1878

First White Sale: "Muslins at cost at Wanamaker's"—January 2.

"Employment of a regular buyer to go to Europe" announced—"almost every steamer brings in goods from Europe where we have at present our own buyer"—February 7.

"Grand Celebration of the First Anniversary of the Grand Depot Dry Goods House, a magnificent opening of New Spring Goods"—March 12.

Little children's clothes added—April 11.

China Store opens, installing the stock of L. Straus & Sons who had a store at 1229 Chestnut Street—October 19.

Grand Illumination of Store (no goods sold) from 7:30 to 10 in the evening—"Simply an opportunity to promenade and see the sights of the store"—November 11.

Second Grand Holiday Sale—December.

Store first lighted by electricity—28 large arc lamps of 3,000 candle-power; newspapers next day declare it a brilliant success, saying "the store was as light as in daytime"; people watch the

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lights throughout the day, some laying bets that the lights would not last—December 26.

[Machines for generating electric light by means of arc lamps were publicly shown for the first time at the Centennial Exhibition in 1876. Wanamaker, of course, saw them there. He closely followed their development after they were taken to the Franklin Institute for further investigation. Although they were only in the experimental stage he had enough faith in the new lighting system to erect a generating plant in his own building which furnished current for the 28 arc lamps which first lighted his store. Thomas Edison, at the time, was working on his incandescent electric lamp which was placed on the market in 1879. Wanamaker sought out Edison in his own laboratory at Menlo Park, New Jersey. "I found him working in a kind of barn, over an electric bulb," he later said. "His eagerness was like that of a madman. He refused to eat or sleep, being infatuated with the idea which he so soon thoroughly developed. I saw what was to make him the pride of the world, when he took the Gold Medal at the Paris Electrical Exposition." Edison's incandescent lamps were later placed in the Wanamaker Store along with the arc lamps which they eventually displaced.]

1879

Robert C. Ogden enters the business at Oak Hall—January 1.
Bell telephone first used in store—February.

Millinery and ribbons added—March.

Announcement about general prices: "The more goods we sell the cheaper we can afford to sell. . . . Our prices usually start at the beginning of the season at the low rates we find advertised two months later by the other stores having greatly reduced theirs. Reduced prices to commence and run through the season is a fundamental principle of our business."

"Lady manager made personal selections in Europe"—September.

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First full newspaper page advertisement used during General Grant's reception—December.

1880

First Spring Sale of China and Glass, and first Spring Sale of Silks—February.

Advertising changed from display to what has since been called the Wanamaker style, the news being written in plain straightforward paragraphs and set in clear, readable type—May 1.

Furniture stocks added, occupying "the upstairs"—March.

First Shoe Sale.

Sporting goods and refrigerators added—June.

"Bargain Room" opened—"a place where remainders of lots are sold at smaller prices"—forerunner of basement bargain sales-rooms and the Downstairs Store—June.

Pneumatic tubes first installed as cash carriers—September.

Carpets added—October.

Jewelry added—December.

"Mr. Andrew Butler sails today to open an office in Paris as a permanent facility in buying goods and executing commissions within the scope of our business"—December 23.

"Open tonight probably until 11 p.m.—and three departments will each sell today \$5,000 of merchandise—dress goods, handkerchiefs, shoes and slippers"—December 24.

1881

Weather indications first printed—original observations made by the store, and a carefully kept record showed about 80 per cent of predictions were correct—January.

"Wanamaker Insurance Association" formed—with a "nest-egg" of \$1,000 from John Wanamaker.

"We have ready such furniture as we are willing to ask you in to see, including 12 different patterns of brass bedsteads ordered

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by Mr. Wanamaker last summer when in England—\$60 to \$130—February 23.

Antique furniture added—March 2.

Art Gallery opened—March 4.

Optical goods and spectacles added—March 9.

"Another Muslin Underwear Sale"—June 10.

Gas stoves added—June 19.

Store begins making its own mattresses—"because we found in cutting open some mattresses from a manufacturer that they were filled with excelsior and fine shavings between layers of hair"—September 2.

Store enlarged on Chestnut Street—November 15.

Engraving business added—November.

Store takes over space on Chestnut Street occupied by 5 stores—December 9.

Holiday crowd so tremendous that the doors have to be closed at certain times to prevent those inside being incommoded, the advertisement saying: "We hope never again to have to close the entrance doors for the protection of those within"—December.

1882

Arcade entrance from Chestnut Street takes on a new form, no longer a mere passage way; it is also part of the rooms on both sides of it. Nos. 1315, 1317, 1319 Chestnut Street are now included in one room and are under the eyes of the passer-by—April 13.

Instruction of store employees begins.

Ventilation-fan system installed—July 12.

More buildings added on Chestnut Street—August 7.

Book News first issued—August 30.

Reading and resting rooms opened—September 7.

First soda fountain installed—September.

Employees now number 3,292 in December—and business has doubled in two years.

Elevators first installed—December.

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1883

Ten more buildings on Chestnut Street occupied—now including Nos. 1301, 1303, 1305, 1307, 1309, 1311, 1313, 1315, 1317, 1319—give an unbroken area of 250 by 488 feet—March 22.

Forty-six departments in store by May 24.

Two and a fourth million dollars of stock—June 1.

Eight acres of floor space by June 1.

Thomas B. Wanamaker enters the business.

Robert C. Ogden transferred from Oak Hall to the 13th and Market street store.

Ten buyers off to Europe by July 28.

Mail order department receiving and answering 1,000 letters a day by August 23.

Dairy—basement restaurant—opens, with pastry and ice cream made on the premises.

Rolling chairs for those visitors who could not walk around—announced November 2.

Ventilating system enlarged and perfected.

Candy being made in the store—to insure purity.

1884

“Great Reduction Sale organized by Mr. Wanamaker personally,” the object being to make certain immediate changes in the business with a view to further extension and improvement—\$1,650,000 stock offered—January 2.

“In 1876 not a merchant in Philadelphia was sending a single buyer to Europe; now this store alone has 10 who make annual or more frequent trips”—August 6.

Bureau of Information and Post Office opened in Arcade, “where 50,000 people pass to and fro in a day”—questions answered, postage stamps sold, parcels mailed, telegraph, telephone—August 6.

Recapitulation of book business: “September, 1877, \$10 worth of children’s books bought and placed on end of counter;

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November, 1878, \$1,000 bought; in 1879 largest sales of any day a trifle over \$1,000; in 1880 a little over \$2,000 a day; in 1882 over \$6,000 a day; in 1883 about \$8,000 a day; and in 1884 about \$10,000 a day"—December 22.

1885

The three firms of John Wanamaker, John Wanamaker & Co. (Chestnut Street) and Wanamaker & Brown dissolved, and Robert C. Ogden and Thomas B. Wanamaker admitted to partnership with John Wanamaker.

"A million dollars worth of goods going into the January Sale for what they will fetch"—First Million Dollar Sale—January 6.

Store closed at 12:30 because of funeral of General Grant—August 8.

"Investigation shows that store is now selling one-seventh of all the pure linen handkerchiefs that come across the sea"—November 6.

All the disjointed parts of the store are drawn together and made into one—closing Kelly Street—November 8.

People begin calling store "Wanamaker's," dropping the name Grand Depot—December.

1886

Closed for half day—New Year's—January 1.

First exhibition of fashions after manner of Paris stores—January 4.

A New York merchant says: "Wanamaker's is on the right track—telling the truth about goods; we've all got to come to it yet"—April 22.

Thirteenth Street side of store is built up to six stories during summer of 1886, to give space for the wholesale trade—new portions opened; "when the business stops growing we shall know when to stop building; there seems to be plenty of room in the sky"—September 13.

Mission Mills blankets introduced—October 22.

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1887

"We have proved that truth-telling is not only right but politic"—announced March 12.

Saturday closing at 1 begins—June 4.

Celebration of the Centennial of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. On the first floor looms are making silks, knitting machines, stockings, women are dressed in Revolutionary costumes spinning flax, and there are old-time shoemakers and other industrial exhibits—September.

4,735 employees on pay roll (Christmas-time census)—December 13.

Hotel Walton (named after R. S. Walton, head of men's hat section) opened for the women employees of the store.

1888

Half-column line cuts first used in advertising—suggested by Rodman Wanamaker, who was now in the business—January.

Full-page merchandise announcements begin—February 1.

Berlin office opens at No. 15 Kur Strasse—March 12.

Full-page announcement of "House Beautiful"—nearly 100,000 people visit it in 5 days—March 19.

More rebuilding during summer of 1888.

First Penny Savings Bank established by John Wanamaker.

1889

Miniature carpet loom exhibited—January 7.

February 1 made stock taking day instead of January 1.

Floor space now 15 acres; 3,600 on normal non-Christmas-time payroll; 121 horses in stable.

First parade of delivery wagons in honor of the Pan-American Congress then meeting in Philadelphia—summer of 1889.

9 buyers in Europe.

Largest private electric plant in the country.

Collection and forwarding of supplies for the Johnstown Flood sufferers.

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1890

"Never outside of Paris has so great a quantity of muslin underwear been sold in so brief a time"—January 6.

Reference made to plagiarism of Wanamaker advertising—17 quotations found in the east and the whole advertisement copied bodily in the west—January 14.

11,850 pairs black stockings for women sold before 3 p.m. in one day—January 22.

Sale of antique furniture and clocks—January 24.

"61 buyers engaged in making preparations for autumn"—August 5.

August Sale of Furniture inaugurated—August 4.

Paris House moved from Rue du Faubourg Poissonnière to 5, Rue Rougemont.

1891

Spring sale of furniture established—now the February Sale—March 3.

Store schools regularly established.

1892

Paris Salon paintings first brought to America for exhibition in the store.

Exhibition of shoe-making—October 25.

Paris lingerie and corset sections opened.

Supplies collected and forwarded to Russian famine victims.

1893

Exhibition of Pierre Fritel's colossal painting, "The Conquerors"—March 28.

Fashion presentation of style epochs begins—Spring.

A miniature world's fair in the store, with exhibits later shown at the Chicago Exposition.

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1894

First full day closing on New Year's—January 1.

"We will put our organization at the disposal of Philadelphia manufacturers to distribute Philadelphia-made goods of the grade we sell, whenever we can get back the bare cost," to bridge the prevalent dull times and keep labor employed—January 12.

Exhibition of Napoleon relics, visited by hundreds of thousands of people—beginning April 16.

1895

"The greater Wanamaker's" announced—"that will make you thankful for life, health and Wanamaker's in this year of grace 1895"—January 1.

Store begins making its own down quilts.

Exposition extraordinary of the Monarchs and Beauties of the world—large paintings and between 500 and 600 miniatures—March 7.

Five carloads of shirtwaists placed on sale—May.

Friendly Inn, a rescue house for men, founded by John Wanamaker on Ninth Street below Locust.

1896

Main Aisle arrayed as a reproduction of the Rue de la Paix, Paris—as it was during the recent visit of the Czar of Russia—March.

Formal opening of the Anna E. McDowell Library for store employees—January 5.

Huge special sales during the year:—\$224,000 worth of furs in January; 750,000 yards of ribbon, 120,600 pieces of knit underwear and hosiery, and \$100,000 of summer dress stuffs in June; 46,000 linen collars at 10c each and 4,000 pieces Reed & Barton silver in September.

John Wanamaker Commercial Institute formally established—March 12.

Military training established for the store boys.

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Store of Hilton-Hughes Co. in New York City taken over to be established as "John Wanamaker, formerly A. T. Stewart & Co."—September 29.

A portion of the Hilton-Hughes stock of \$1,077,088.75 brought to the Philadelphia store to be sold—October 24.

"On and after Monday, November 16, 1896, there will be two Wanamaker Stores, one in Philadelphia and one in New York—but they will be one concern, each helping the other"—November 14.

November—"20 miles of new and pretty ribbons."

1897

Twentieth Anniversary celebrated: "A large slice of our little fortune was lost in establishing this new system of business. Slowly, very slowly, our plans unfolded, and gradually other stores, one after another, began to take our unpatentable forms and principles. We are glad to see what are termed 'Wanamaker Innovations' creeping into the general store-keeping of the nation. Instead of hurting the business of the city, as many predicted, the large stores grew larger, and the small stores greatly increased in number, as is apparent to any observer"—March.

First of the Semi-annual Houseware Sales—March and September.

Christmas bonuses announced: "Every cent of profit on the excess of the whole month's business over that of December, 1896, shall be set aside for division among our salespeople. This is not a profit-sharing nor an eking out of salaries, for salary lists here are the one thing we are liberal with—it is actually turning a lively business over to the benefit of our helpers for a part of the days"—December.

94,658 sales-slips and 36,616 parcels—Monday before Christmas.

1898

In Cuban War Wanamaker's supplies linen for transport service and heavy duck for Marine Corps uniforms. Employees

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who enlist in U. S. service kept on full pay. The store also supplies the superb set of table linen given to Admiral Dewey by women of Olympia (after which Dewey's flagship was named), Washington Territory.

First Semi-annual Sales of china and glass—March and September.

1899

Pianos placed on sale at a fixed price—unusual then in the piano trade: "one price to all; no favoritism; the lowest possible price, and music in as many homes as possible"—April 15.

Paris House moved to 44, Rue des Petites Ecuries—October.

1900

Supplies collected and forwarded to Galveston flood sufferers.

Brotherhood Settlement House built, and John Wanamaker branch of Free Library established.

Opening of Seashore Camp at Island Heights for the boys of the store—July 7.

Store closing hour fixed at 5 in the summer and 5:30 in winter.

First private telephone exchange installed in the store.

1901

Silver Anniversary celebrated with industrial displays and publication of daily store newspaper—March.

1902

Rodman Wanamaker admitted to partnership.

Presentation of Pompadour fashions.

John Wanamaker Commercial Institute Military Band organized.

Ground broken for new Philadelphia Store—February 22, 1902; first section completed in 1905; second section completed in 1908; cornerstone laid, June 12, 1909; completion day celebrated June 11, 1910.

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Women's League organized by the women of the store for study and mutual improvement.

1903

Store guarantees Ford automobiles against loss by threat of trust over Selden patent, thus paving the way for Ford's success and fortune—1903 and 1904.

Imported from the Paris Salon of 1903 the largest single collection of French paintings ever brought to America—250 in all; also 300 paintings, representing the entire studio collection of Vacslav Brozik, who died in 1901—the famous Brozik collection.

Students' Art Exhibition inaugurated.

1904

Radium first exhibited in the United States.

First steel pillars of new Philadelphia Store set in place by John Wanamaker.

Subway stations opened within the store—in New York in 1904—in Philadelphia in 1908.

"American Week" inaugurated for the exploitation of American made goods—telegrams of congratulation from many U. S. Senators and Governors of States—October.

Publicity given to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis—showing in advance some of the exhibits.

Nattier pictures—reproductions of those shown in the gallery of Versailles—first shown.

Marking of actual yardage on spools of silk inaugurated.

1905

Continuous day and night telephone service inaugurated.

Glee Club formed by the negro elevator operators, later developing into the Robert C. Ogden Association, named after Mr. Ogden because of his great work for the negroes of the South.

1906

Formal opening of the first section of the new Philadelphia building.

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French Revolution exhibit—March.

Presentation of Empress Eugénie and Second Empire fashions.

Supplies collected and forwarded to San Francisco sufferers in conflagration.

2,000 telephones installed in store, with the world's largest private branch exchange.

1907

New York Store incorporated with the name John Wanamaker New York—June 6, 1907.

Philadelphia Store incorporated with the name John Wanamaker June 26, 1907, and corporate name changed to John Wanamaker Philadelphia, January 20, 1911.

New building of New York Wanamaker's formally opened—September.

Presentation of Egyptian and Grecian fashions—1907.

House Palatial—now Belmansion—opened in New York Store, visited by a million people the first year.

Marconi wireless stations installed on roofs of both stores—October.

Children's Christmas Drawing Competition inaugurated—December.

Schomacker Piano plant in Philadelphia taken over.

1908

Auditorium opened in the New York Store.

Egyptian Hall opened in Philadelphia.

American Composers' concerts—March.

Presentation of Napoleonic and Directoire fashions in the spring, and Moyen-age fashions in fall.

John Wanamaker Commercial Institute Military band of girls organized.

American University of Trade and Applied Commerce chartered and established within the store—December 10.

Following Rodman Wanamaker's Educational Expedition to

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the Indians in 1907, motion pictures of North American Indians are presented in March.

Another parade of delivery wagons—with not a whip used; whips were long since banished—June.

Tearing down of old Chestnut Street Stores begins—September.

1909

Cornerstone of new Philadelphia building laid by John Wanamaker.

Competitive Choral Competition inaugurated—March.

Store fashion magazine published—*La Dernière Heure à Paris*.

Japanese House of John Wanamaker opened in Yokohama.

Continuous full-page advertising used in five New York evening newspapers, changing the bulk of the city's store advertising from morning to evening field.

Presentation of Nattier and Watteau fashions in the spring and Russian fashions in the fall.

Aeronautic motion pictures first shown and aeroplane first sold in the United States—replica of the plane used by Bleriot in flying across the English Channel.

Second expedition of Rodman Wanamaker to the North American Indians—"Last Great Indian Council" in motion pictures, first shown in private view in Washington to President Taft, the Cabinet, the Diplomatic Corps, the Judiciary and both houses of Congress and later shown in the store.

Indian Primer issued; also Lincoln Primer of which 225,000 copies were distributed mainly through the public schools.

1910

Capstone of new Philadelphia Store placed by the Founder, inscribed "Let those who follow me continue to build with the plumb of Honor, the level of Truth, and the square of Integrity, Education, Courtesy and Mutuality."

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Store taxicab system inaugurated in New York and Philadelphia—July.

First issue of *Store and Home*, a fashion and mail-order magazine.

Full-page Wanamaker advertisement published in Paris edition of New York *Herald*.

Wanamaker Stores made official Marconi Stations—July.

Free delivery of merchandise inaugurated within international postal limits, on purchases of \$5 and more.

Motion pictures of the funeral of King Edward VII of England first shown in America—in the store.

Children's playground in the store first established.

1911

Golden Jubilee celebrated—beginning in March and extending throughout the year.

Great Crystal Tea Room opened in Philadelphia Store.

Largest organ in the world installed in Grand Court of Philadelphia Wanamaker's.

Photographs and other exhibits of the Coronation of King George and Queen Mary.

Completed new building in Philadelphia dedicated by the President of the United States, William Howard Taft—December 30.

John Wanamaker made Officer of the French Legion of Honor.

1912

Wanamaker Marconi Station on the roof of the New York Store receives first news in America of the *Titanic* disaster, received by David Sarnoff, then the Wanamaker wireless operator, now president and the general manager of the Radio Corporation of America—April 17, three days after the tragedy.

First continuous publication of John Wanamaker's signed editorials in the store advertising—beginning October 1.

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Formation of Robert C. Ogden Association composed of negro employees of the Philadelphia Store.

Chambers of Commerce of 43 countries visit Wanamaker's in Philadelphia.

1913

Degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on John Wanamaker by Ursinus College—June.

First parcel post package mailed under United States parcel post law, originally urged by John Wanamaker while Postmaster-General—in Philadelphia by John Wanamaker, at 12 o'clock on the morning of January 1, 1913, and in New York by Rodman Wanamaker at the same moment.

First free delivery by Parcel Post—January 2.

The John Wanamaker Co-operative Banking Association formed.

1914

Wireless telephone connections between the Philadelphia and New York Stores, "marking an epoch in the strides of human progress."

Aeroplane first built for trans-Atlantic flight—*The America*—constructed by Glenn H. Curtiss for Rodman Wanamaker.

All Saturdays in July and August inaugurated as full holidays with full pay.

Two ships chartered by John Wanamaker and laden with the help of the people of Philadelphia and vicinity for Belgium's starving people.

Opening of Camee candy shop—French cuisine.

1915

Provost Smith of the University of Pennsylvania confers the degree of Doctor of Laws on John Wanamaker, "Philanthropist, Statesman, eminent in the councils of the nation, Christian leader, constructive genius who on the basis of the Golden Rule

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by thought and practice has revolutionized the business methods of the merchants of the world"—June.

Governor Brumbaugh, Governor of Pennsylvania, in response to the Panama-Pacific Exposition Commission's request to name Pennsylvania's three greatest citizens, names John Wanamaker as one of them.

Grand Prize for uplift work among the North American Indians awarded by the Panama-Pacific Exposition to Rodman Wanamaker.

Athletic field opened on the roof of the Wanamaker Store in Philadelphia.

London House of John Wanamaker placed by cable in the hands of Ambassador Page in London to succor the *Lusitania* sufferers.

1916

The Downstairs Store, a new kind of lower-price store, with dependable merchandise, inaugurated—February.

The Red, White and Blue Cross, Inc. formed to enable the store employees to render coöperative service during the emergencies of the Great War.

Formal opening of "University Hall" dedicated to the educational work of the store.

New store medical offices, with hospital equipment; physicians; specialists in eye, ear, nose and throat; dental surgeon; chiropodist; nurses—free to the employees.

1917

Reception within the store to the French Mission, headed by ex-Premier Viviani and Marechal Joffre—May 9.

Red, White and Blue Cross, Inc. made an official Red Cross Auxiliary for war work.

Personal Service Bureau established.

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1918

Ten full pages of advertising contributed to aid in Liberty Loan publicity.

Total gross receipts for five days in both stores turned over to the U. S. Government as subscription to war loans.

Overseas Bureau established for the forwarding of goods to soldiers at the front, through the Wanamaker London and Paris Houses.

Six-and-a-half hour store day—from 10 to 4:30—inaugurated for a month during the coal shortage in the Great War—July-August.

Inauguration of public singing of Christmas carols during the holiday season in the Grand Court of the Philadelphia Store.

1919

Total subscriptions to the five Liberty Loans by and through the two stores announced as \$39,239,550.

Total number of men from the Wanamaker business in all branches of the World War service announced as 1414 with casualties of 143, of whom 33 made the supreme sacrifice—May 15.

Welcome to General Pershing from the Philadelphia Store with a review of the J.W.C.I. and presentation of the city flag.

First of the unique concerts in the stores by Monsieur Courboin, eminent Belgian organist, and the Philadelphia Orchestra under leadership of Leopold Stokowski—March.

First use of the new "fanfold" machine for copying orders, invented in the store—October 1.

Cardinal Mercier of Belgium welcomed in the Philadelphia Store.

1920

Authors' week celebrated—March.

Twenty per cent deduction sale of the stores' entire stocks (over \$20,000,000 worth) announced by John Wanamaker, lead-

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ing the way for gradual deflation of prices and preventing an after-the-war panic; thousands of merchants throughout the country follow the plan—May and June.

First permit, No. 1, secured by the Philadelphia Store for dispatch of mail without postage.

1921

Celebration of the completion of 60 years of business life—the freedom of the city of Philadelphia tendered to John Wanamaker at Independence Hall, with the Justices of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania adjourning their sessions to attend in a body; congratulatory letters and telegrams from the President and Vice-President of the United States, the Governor of Pennsylvania and the Emperor and Empress of Japan, and a resolution of congratulations adopted by the Pennsylvania Legislature—April 26.

1922

First radio broadcasting from the stores in New York and Philadelphia inaugurated with an address by John Wanamaker, and organ concerts broadcast for the first time.

Exhibition of French Industrial Art—the *Salon du Goût Français*—by the *Lumière* Process—January.

First showing of the Clavilux, a “color organ,” producing a harmony of colors instead of sound—March 24.

John Wanamaker died December 12.



Thomas H. Wrennaker

CHAPTER IX

THE FULFILLMENT

THERE is a young merchant over in Philadelphia who is going to come to the front one of these days," said New York's first great merchant, Alexander Turney Stewart, just before he died. "I refer to John Wanamaker. He will be a greater merchant than I have ever been or ever will be."

Twenty years later—in 1896—to the consternation of New York's other old-time merchants, John Wanamaker purchased and took over the Stewart business, then being operated under the name of Hilton-Hughes & Co.

Conditions were ripe for his entry into the larger metropolitan circle. He had turned over Oak Hall to his brother, William H. Wanamaker, and the Chestnut Street Store largely to his brother, Marion. He had taken into partnership his own two sons, Thomas B. Wanamaker and Rodman Wanamaker, and also Robert C. Ogden, who already had some New York mercantile experience with Devlin & Co.

The Philadelphia Wanamaker Store at 13th and Market was doing one of the largest businesses in the country and was very prosperous. It had been greatly enlarged and remodeled in the past ten years, but even now it was not large enough to accommodate its trade—"that we need a larger and better building is quite true," Wanamaker had said in 1895, "but we do not know how to get it while the flocks of people are coming and going from morning to night."

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The announcement of the purchase of Hilton-Hughes & Co. was made September 29, 1896—"one of the biggest business and real estate deals in the history of New York," a metropolitan newspaper called it—"even the rumor that it was about to be consummated has created no end of stir among the big stores of the city." And Judge Horace Russell, attorney for Judge Hilton who as A. T. Stewart's lawyer and one of the heirs had taken the business at the death of Stewart, said: "I have no doubt that with his energetic methods Mr. Wanamaker will create quite a stir in New York."

On his early periodical buying trips to New York, Wanamaker had become well acquainted with A. T. Stewart. "He seemed to like me," he said. "He would go with me over his store and show me his merchandise. One of my very strongest memories is of going around with him among the stocks. I would hear that he was in the dress-goods department. That is where I saw him the last time except in his coffin, and he was saying something like this to the buyers of the dress goods: 'I saw these all here yesterday. You have just as many pieces. You haven't sold any of it. I don't want to see it here tomorrow morning.' He talked with a feminine voice—"You haven't sold these goods. I told you to sell them. They have got to be sold. Cut the price in half.' So closely as this Stewart followed the details of his merchandise." *

* Alexander P. Moore, then U. S. Ambassador to Spain, told Rodman Wanamaker at the New York City dinner to the U. S. Fleet in the Hotel Astor, Tuesday evening, May 3, 1927, that he had come to New York in the same car with John Wanamaker the day he was buying the A. T. Stewart business. He said he remembered very well that in speaking of the purchase John

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Wanamaker long had an ambition to enter the New York field, and it was quite natural that he took advantage of the situation, knowing that he could build on the integrity of its founder and the good-will the store still had, although it had passed through various vicissitudes after Stewart's death.

Other New York merchants were shy of it. "It is a failure now," they said, "it is a dead business; it is too far downtown." Other New York stores were moving uptown.

Wanamaker had heard this cry before. "It is too far uptown," people had said of his new Philadelphia Store. "It is too far downtown," they now said about the Stewart business. But "where the MacGregor sits, there is the head of the table."

The other objection—that the Stewart business for the past decade had been going backwards and had failed several times—was met by Wanamaker in coolly sweeping away all mention of Hilton-Hughes, or Denning & Hughes, the names it had operated under after Stewart's death, and calling the new store, "John Wanamaker, formerly A. T. Stewart & Co." In this way, he linked the two great successes of Philadelphia and New York. "The business thus swings back to the pole star that had guided it so long and so faithfully," Wanamaker announced and quoted Stewart as saying: "My business has been a matter of principle from the start; that is all there is about it."

A. T. Stewart had come to New York from Ireland in

Wanamaker said, "yes, A. T. Stewart was a fine merchant and his store was a fine store. He showed people what they should have. Now I am going to *sell* people what they should have."

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1822. He was a man of letters, a graduate of Trinity College in Belfast, educated for the ministry. He intended to follow literary pursuits in his new home, and began by teaching school in Roosevelt Street near Pearl. Chance made him a merchant. He had loaned some money to a friend who opened a small dry-goods store. The friend failed in his venture. To save his own money Stewart took over the stock. To save the stock he concluded he would have to freshen it with new goods. He went back to Ireland, took with him all the money he had—some \$3,000 saved from his patrimony—bought some Irish linens, returned to New York, and on the morning of September 2, 1823, announced in the New York *Daily Advertiser*:

New Dry Goods Store

No. 283 Broadway

Opposite Washington Hall

A. T. Stewart informs his friends and the public, that he has taken the above store, where he offers for sale, wholesale and retail, a general assortment of fresh and seasonable DRY GOODS: a choice assortment of:

Irish linens, lawns, French cambrics;
Damask, Diaper, etc.

N. B. The above goods have been carefully selected and bought for cash, and will be sold on reasonable terms to those who will please to favour him with their commands.

The little store prospered from the start. Needing more room it moved in 1826 to 262 Broadway, and soon again to 257 Broadway. By 1848 the business had grown so large that to accommodate it Stewart built the great marble store at Broadway and Chambers Street still standing (in 1930) and housing *The New York Sun*.

In 1862 he leased part of the old Randall Farm at Astor

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Place, bounded by Ninth and Tenth streets and Broadway and Fourth Avenue, and erected at a cost of \$2,750,000 the great six-story iron building, housing the business which Wanamaker purchased in 1896 and made his own.

The business was taken over by John Wanamaker on October 19, 1896,* with Robert C. Ogden in charge as resident-partner, and opened to the public November 16, the opening announcement being in the spirit of Wanamaker's Philadelphia advertising.

"This is not to be a Department Store," it said, "but an aggregation of stores, each complete of its kind—an evolution of the ideas that made in its day the store of A. T. Stewart the model retail store of the world."

The reception by the people was cordial, but some of the New York merchants regarded Wanamaker as an interloper. They could not criticize his methods, for they already were following them. They could not deny the quality and variety of the goods he offered. So they made a subtle attack—"Oh, yes, Wanamaker's merchandise is all right, but you will find it high-priced." The remark had a color of truth to it because Wanamaker would not sell shoddy. His prices for first-quality merchandise were therefore higher than prices for second quality—but value for value, he was not undersold. "How could I be?" he said, "when I offer the people the privilege of returning anything that is unsatisfactory. Could I charge higher prices, even though I desired, when I stand ready to buy back my merchandise at the price paid for it?"

* The keys of the store were handed over to John Wanamaker by Fred Nowotsky, then an employee of Hilton-Hughes, and now in 1930 still in the service of the store as door-man.

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The opposition, however, was short-lived, and not indeed, general, and in 1911 the New York merchants gave Wanamaker a dinner when Oscar Straus voiced their unanimous sentiment: "Here is a man who has spent fifty years in a competitive business, and he has made of his competitors not enemies, but friends and admirers."

Ten years after taking over the Stewart Store the old building was so far outgrown that a new and larger building was necessary. More stores had then moved uptown. Wanamaker carefully considered the situation. His partners were rather inclined to follow the other stores uptown. But sentiment for the old Stewart Store was strong, and there was weight to the business consideration that the higher rents of up-town locations must add to the cost of doing business. He determined to stay on the old ground, and in 1906 he erected on the block between 8th and 9th and Fourth Avenue and Broadway, a new sixteen-floor store, connecting it with the old Stewart building by a three-deck bridge and two tunnels, giving easy access from one building to the other. The bridge he called "The Bridge of Progress"—as indeed it was—linking the progress of A. T. Stewart with the progress of John Wanamaker, and combining the best of both merchants in a store that soon became the largest in New York.

In opening the new building in April, 1906, Wanamaker published over his own signature a proclamation which was like his early crusading announcements.

"Under the sun, in the fullness of time, there has arisen that which is new. On the spot where they that were wise in the world of busi-

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ness had said that great business would no more come, has been erected a splendid structure—a building which, combined with this old A. T. Stewart store, presents the most vast and magnificent establishment for retailing that exists today on this continent or any other.

"The same quality of business courage which made Alexander T. Stewart determine to establish New York's center of retailing at the corner of this old store, then so far *up* town, was present in the builders of this new structure when they determined that here, now away *down* town, should remain the center of business life and activity.

"The permanency of Astor Place as a retail center of New York City is secured, as long as Wanamaker's endures, because of these truisms:

"1. The retail center in a population of five millions of people depends not upon locality, but upon the facilities for easy transit from all points to that center. No other locality in Greater New York has one-third of the transit lines converging to it that come within a stone's throw of Astor Place—surface, elevated and subway cars.

"2. The Wanamaker Store, with its combined area of 32 acres of floor space, in its two buildings, is eight acres larger than the next largest store.

"There is still another attraction at Wanamaker's. Those who have known the store longest will understand it best. It is the fact that the store is not a mere machine. It has a spirit; a personality, which makes it different from all other commercial establishments. This is because every employee takes a personal interest in pleasing the customer. The salespeople are more intelligent and active. And the store constantly presents features of attraction which are not mere merchandising. It entertains, it educates, and in many ways performs special service for its public for which there is neither charge nor obligation to buy.

"While the corner stone of the new building rests on the solid rock, there is still a firmer foundation for the business life and success of the Wanamaker Store which has grown up, during these years of service, upon the hearts and good-will of the people."

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With the new building Wanamaker was now able to put into effect his long-cherished dream of a specialized store, which he outlined in this announcement:

"This new building was specially constructed for a particular purpose, to install a new kind of furnishing and decorating business. Excepting only the main floor, it is devoted exclusively to furniture, draperies, carpets, china and glass, and pianos and organs, house-furnishings and the spacious, light and large work-rooms required to economically make draperies, mattresses and housefurnishings. New York City has no other 16-story mercantile building of such extent, fireproofed from top to bottom—floors, roofs, walls and fixtures, from sub-cellar up—devoted to the furnishing and decorating of the home. And, so far as is known, there is no such establishment of equal extent in the world.

"The old A. T. Stewart business now seems small and antiquated in comparison with the present organization and equipment of the Wanamaker business in New York, which now consists of three complete exclusive stores.

"First—The woman's store, wholly for Dry Goods and Wearing Apparel.

"Second—The Man's Store, on the entrance floor of the new building, exclusively for Men's and Boys' Wear.

"Third—The entire new building, from the first gallery to the roof, devoted exclusively to Furnishing and Decoration.

"The great new building is a series of galleries which fulfilled the long-cherished purpose of the owner and builder and constitute the Wanamaker Galleries of Furnishing and Decoration, giving to New York a new kind of furnishing establishment altogether different from the old department store sort.

"The House Palatial is built and furnished in the center of this little world of Furnishing and Decoration. Outside of the House Palatial, its hall, staircases, twenty-two rooms and summer garden—finer than many \$250,000 Fifth Avenue mansions—there are also now ready forty-four furnished rooms, representing various periods, to enable architects and home-makers to study and select proper furniture and house adornments, and to enable them to individualize

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their homes from the mere commercial furnishing way; also a series of still more simply decorated rooms, artistic but economical. No event in the mercantile world in recent years has attracted more widespread attention than the opening of this House Palatial and the wonderful galleries of furnishing and decoration. More than 70,000 visitors attended on the first day. On the second day the attendance was almost as large and on the third day even larger.

"In the unfolding of these plans it was determined to eliminate some of the methods usual to the furnishing craft, to show decorative schemes in a large and concrete way with specimens of the pieces to be used in the room, and not depend on little sketches, which are often misleading and do not enable one to test the comfort of a piece or see its construction and finish; and to employ only successful, experienced specialists and expert 'assemblers' and colorists, in all the various styles and periods; but to make no charge for this taste and skill.

"As though all this were not enough, there was built, of solid masonry, as part of the plan of the galleries, this House Palatial of twenty-two rooms, hall and staircase, representing the home of a family of taste and wealth; the best of its type that can be seen in Fifth Avenue, or Hyde Park, London. It has cost, with its furnishings and art works, over a quarter of a million dollars. As an educational feature that will enable house-owners and architects to judge decorative schemes and furnishings, it is perhaps without parallel in the world.

"The Auditorium (Wanamaker Hall), also built into the new Wanamaker building, is three stories in height and will seat fifteen hundred people on the main floor and gallery."

The House Palatial has now become *Belmaison*, a "House of Ideas," given over largely to classical art in the furnishing and decorating of the home, with great stocks of reproduction furniture. Some of the "furnished rooms" have become "The Little Home that Budget Built," a concrete expression of the apartment or house that a scientific budget can build, with a service free to the people, helping

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them to install a home budget and to furnish their homes in the most efficient and artistic manner with due regard to economy and wholesome saving of funds for other purposes. *Au Quatrième*, a floor of antiques and objects of art, that is without counterpart in the world, has been added on the fourth floor of the Stewart Building. And many other changes have been made in the arrangement and installation of merchandise in both buildings, reflecting very largely the art of Rodman Wanamaker, who succeeded his father in ownership and direction of all the Wanamaker business.

"It is the guiding intelligence of a business that makes it what it is," wrote Theodore Roosevelt in the *Outlook*, when he said, referring to the Wanamaker New York store: "Here in the city where the *Outlook* is edited, on Broadway between Ninth and Tenth streets, is a huge dry-goods store. The business was originally started, and the block of which I am speaking was built for the purpose, by an able New York merchant. It prospered. He and those who invested under him made a good deal of money. Their employees did well. Then he died, and certain other people took possession of it and tried to run the business. The manual labor was the same, the physical conditions were the same; but the guiding intelligence at the top had changed. The business was run at a loss. It would surely have had to shut down, and all the employees, clerks, laborers, everybody would have been turned adrift, to infinite suffering, if it had not again changed hands and another business man of capacity taken charge. The business was the same as before, the physical conditions were the same, the good-will, the manual labor the same, but the guiding intelligence had

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changed, and now everything once more has prospered, and prospered as had never been the case before."

The guiding genius of Wanamaker's always keeps it Wanamaker's—a store apart from all others.

The new building was formally opened in September, 1907, when Dr. Talcott Williams, Dean of the Pulitzer School of Journalism, said: "A great golden rule has been established in business, which I first saw expressed in an advertisement written by Mr. Wanamaker that no bargain is worth having unless it satisfies both ends of the bargain and leaves both with a profit."

Dr. Joseph R. Johnson, Dean of the School of Commerce, New York University, said: "I set down Mr. Wanamaker as being a great civilizing force from the economic point of view. The universities in this country know what is going on in the Wanamaker Stores. Just as they make studies of plant life or of the stars, so our universities are devoting scientific attention to what Mr. Wanamaker is doing."

S. S. McClure, magazine proprietor and editor, said: "John Wanamaker is the best advertiser in the world. He is the best advertiser because he is an honest merchant. He is an honest merchant because he is an honest man. Behind the advertisements are honesty and ability of the first rank. He has not succeeded because of his advertisements, but because of the qualities of mind that enabled him to produce these advertisements. He is the foremost merchant of our time. Mr. Wanamaker is a great artist. All first-class institutions are founded only by great artists. If Mr. Wanamaker had not been a great artist he could never have founded this great

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thing. This is not simply a department store—it is the expression of a great mind in a department store.”

John Wanamaker maintained his faith in the Astor Place location. He was offered many apparently attractive sites in other parts of the city. Some of these he investigated, weighing their advantages against their disadvantages. Rumors were always persistent that he would move his store uptown. But he remained true to his first love—the Stewart Store and neighborhood. Only once was he heard to express a doubt. It was on May 3, 1922, shortly before he died. He had come to New York from Philadelphia, and even while using a motor car that had the right of way—the car of his son, Rodman, a Deputy Police Commissioner—he had experienced great difficulty in getting from the ferry to the store.

“We are doing good advertising,” he said, “we have a good store, but the people are being pushed away from us by the difficulties of getting here. The subways are more difficult, and some of them have been switched away from this route. The situation is like that which confronted A. T. Stewart when he found himself on the wrong side of Broadway, the shilling side, next to the old Astor House, and he went across the street farther up, to Chambers Street. Later, as the city pushed northward, he came farther uptown to Grace Church at Astor Place. The same thing would have happened to Mr. Stewart that has happened to us, if he were in business today. And not even he could have foreseen that the city would push so far away from the former business locations. As business pushed north, the residence districts also moved farther away. We may find ourselves in the same

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position some time in Philadelphia, although we are located between the two railroad terminals. Some time it may be likely that Broad Street station will be abandoned and West Philadelphia station be used exclusively, which would then change the center of business activities."

But this was only a passing mood. Had he lived a year longer he would have seen great changes in the residential districts near Astor Place. Great new apartment buildings have gone up. Private homes have been rebuilt and enlarged into apartments. A noticeable rebirth of this old fashionable residential section of the city has taken place. Fifth Avenue buses are running to Wanamaker's. People shopping by motor are finding that with the ample parking spaces on seven blocks surrounding the store there is less delay than in the congested shopping districts.

Talcott Williams said that Mr. Wanamaker once told him that a quarter of a million dollars had been expended in testing out the merits of Astor Place as a retail location before he decided to erect there the new Wanamaker building. Arrivals were counted not only at the surface, subway and elevated transit stations, but even at the ferries, to learn the trend and ease of travel; and many other tests were later made—for example at the railroad stations and tubes. John Wanamaker was not the kind of man to take important decisions in a haphazard manner.

John Wanamaker always gave high credit to Robert C. Ogden for his collaboration in the business, but he was especially happy in the service Ogden rendered to humanity, notably to the negro race, in his work apart from the business. On July 12, 1909, in a talk to the heads of the Phila-

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delphia Store, Wanamaker said: "I would like to have you share with me the pleasure I feel in the great work accomplished by Mr. Ogden. The papers of last Saturday in New York gave out the fact that Mr. Rockefeller, who had disappeared on his birthday up in Cleveland, had turned up in New York and had arranged for an additional gift to the Southern Educational Society of \$10,000,000, which makes a total of \$53,000,000 which Mr. Rockefeller has given to the Society which was founded by Mr. Ogden and who gave so much of his time to it in the last three years of his work in the New York Store. I was always very much interested in it from the beginning—saw its babyhood and its growth and encouraged Mr. Ogden to take the time. Sometimes he would take three whole days without being able to do anything on the business. The plan was first started for the colored people in the South and then spread out to take in the whole South because many of the white people were as ignorant as the colored people. A great many of the Southern people could not read or write. Now here comes the man that was walking around our store learning the dry-goods business, for he didn't know anything about it when he came here. He was a clothing man. He went over to New York and in his quite, forceful way has made in this one particular instance \$53,000,000 to be devoted to education. That is his work. If any of you have any question about his part in it, I think you could easily be satisfied that he initiated it by his wisdom. He carried it on by his wonderful power of influencing men, without asking them for money. And this isn't all, because a great many other gifts have come into that Educational Society. Mr. Ogden had

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the rare force of character to step out from the presidency just as part of his diplomacy to make the opportunity when he saw Mr. Rockefeller was so much interested, that he might get some of his own people in, still staying in the chairmanship of the Board and being the most influential man there. Now, that is one of our own associates—a modest man but a true man, and I think you will count it a part of the splendid, wonderful opportunity that has been given to us to enlarge ourselves and to touch the whole country, as this does, with Mr. Ogden.”

CHAPTER X

THE SILVER ANNIVERSARY AND REBUILDING YEARS

COUNTING the 25 years from the opening of the Grand Depot in 1876, John Wanamaker celebrated in 1901 the Silver Anniversary of his New Kind of Store. Ten years later he celebrated his Golden Anniversary in business, counting the 50 years from the opening of his first store in 1861.

The Silver Anniversary was celebrated in March, centering around the March 12 of 1877 when the Dry-Goods Store was opened in its entirety. The month of March, therefore, became the store's anniversary month and the 12th of March was celebrated as Founder's Day.

Wanamaker had just returned from a European trip and unknown to him his sons had arranged a reception by the store family who marched down the main aisle of the Philadelphia building in a hearty welcome-home to their chief.

There was lively competition among the many sections of the business. Each prepared banners which announced the record of the section and told the part it played in the conduct of the business. As the store people, with these banners, passed the stand on which Wanamaker was reviewing the pageant, he had before him a moving human document

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of loyalty and mutuality in the service of the public typifying the spirit in which the Founder and his associates had worked side by side and heart to heart. After the parade supper was served and the evening was spent in good-fellowship. It was one of the first "get-together" meetings held in a great store, a custom now generally followed in large institutions.

The public celebration of the Silver Anniversary took the form of industrial and art displays, presenting the advance of a quarter of a century. Looms and other machinery were set up on the main aisle, each illustrating the making of merchandise which the store sold. A printing press printed a daily store paper before the eyes of the people.

In the store advertising, Wanamaker made these observations:

"And what of all this 25 years' work along these lines? It is only fair to say that it must be apparent that whatever good may have come to individuals who have profited through large businesses of store-keeping it is altogether insignificant when compared to the good brought to the people as a whole.

"Is not the world large enough for us all? To have forethoughted the consolidation of many stores under one roof was not so wonderful. The Old Depot store, that was once thought so big, is but a shoe-string compared to the plants of the Standard Oil or the Federal Steel companies. 'The sun do move,' old black Uncle Jasper insisted. Why should not individual ownership be permitted to grow peaceably and equally with industries that are bunched into trusts?

"Do let us think and talk plainly. Pick at the big stores if that pleases you, and if you have the time to give while others work—and, if you choose, tax them next door to death. What is the use of the farmer store-keeper growling because his cow cannot trot like a horse? Or why throw away your penknife because it is only half pen and won't write? But we are not going back to hand-loom weav-

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ing or the use of cobblestone pavements in America. Rather let us ballast our boat, balance ourselves, and pull out to the open sea where there is room for all. There is much more success winable for those who go after it in the right way than ever before."

On Washington's Birthday, February 22, 1902, ground was broken for the new Wanamaker Store in Philadelphia by John Wanamaker, Thomas B. Wanamaker and Rodman Wanamaker. The building was erected in three separate sections, one section of the old building being dismantled at a time, the business being carried on in the other two-thirds. Even under these adverse conditions the volume of business increased each year, being stimulated by a series of "Dismantling Sales."

The years of tearing down the old and rebuilding the new store Wanamaker named as follows:

1902—Ground breaking year.

1903—Architect's and Founder's planning year.

1904—Foundation year.

1905—First section year.

1906—Iron and stone year.

1907-08—Second section year.

1909-10—Third and final section year—Cornerstone laid, June 12, 1909; Capstone laid June 11, 1910.

1911—Golden Jubilee year—golden fruitions, golden gladness, golden hopes, golden progress.

On July 11, 1904, the first steel column of the new structure was set in place. On March 12, 1906, the first section was completed and formally opened. Upon this occasion Wanamaker said:

"Where we stand to-night, the old mules of the Pennsyl-

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vania Railroad freight department were the motors that did the pulling and hauling from 1853 to 1874. A plucky individual turned out the old sleepy streams of beasts in 1874, and demolished the unsightly sheds the first week of 1876, and before the end of April the Centennial Exhibition had a rival in the store that had been created in less than four months.

"The wonder of Philadelphians when they woke up to find that they had a store as big as a great Pennsylvania Railroad depot with an entrance through a Chestnut street brick house of an old colored man (bought to be pulled down to make passage-way direct to Chestnut street) was as great as the wonder of the visitors to the Centennial Exhibition.

"But marvelous as that store was—at least hundreds of thousands of people said so during the Centennial year—it was still only a little thread, pulling after it in 1877 great cables of hard-twisted mercantile invention, intention and initiation, entirely transforming the place into the Grand Depot, the first New Kind of Store.

"This carries us back to 1877, our first business 12th of March. There were crowds of people lining up along Market & Thirteenth and Juniper street corners those days to see the new thing go to smash—but it did not. It was a stubborn thing, full of vitality and totally unkillable. Instead of going to pieces, it grew steadily and rapidly into the public confidence, and became a great public necessity. This locality, condemned as too far west, soon became the city's favorite shopping place and a public thoroughfare. Independence Hall was the only other city building as popular as the

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Grand Depot. Now, like Thomas Jefferson's house where the Declaration of Independence was written, it has to be snuffed out to give place to a new structure demanded by the people.

"Whoever thought that we could be so wedded to these old sheds and rafters under which we lived happily so long! How hard it has been to see them disappear! Yet it is the lesson of centuries that we must learn. The old must go and the young must step into their shoes.

"This very same twelfth day of March, thirty years ago, witnessed the installation of a new order of business in Philadelphia. There are none who can say that there ever was in this or any other city a store like the one we established. Truly it was a great day for Philadelphia and the United States.

"I do not believe there ever was convened anywhere in the world such an assemblage as this—the entire staff of the active business people of the one business conducting the two great business warehouses of the two largest cities on the Atlantic coast. The New York delegation represents almost as many more as our numbers in this city and the maximum is over 12,000 mercantile workers. It is known that no business house on the face of the globe can make such a showing unless it be for advertising purposes only."

Wanamaker then spoke of individual life-building.

"To be as practical as possible, let me say that I believe that a life-building begun without definite plan ought to be torn down forthwith and a new structure begun, not upon speculative lines, but for a distinct and definite purpose. To be a thorough business man or business woman requires an

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education and a course of at least four years in a school of practice to enable one to earn a fair living.

"Clergymen, doctors and lawyers belong to what are classed as the learned professions. A scant recognition as such is also accorded to architects, engineers, etc., while commercial men and business women have no such standing. A lawyer who never held a brief, admitted to the bar on a two years' course of study, and a clergyman who never graduated at any college and was never called to active church duties, outrank a business man or business woman who has taken a four years' course of study and apprenticeship in a school of practice and has entered upon the practice of their learning for usefulness and livelihood.

"There are those who seem to think that the Maker of Men ordained that there should be three classes of people on the earth, and that two high mountains and the low valley between put them in their proper places. On the one side the higher mountain peak stands for the leisure and idle classes, proud of never having done a day's work and boastful of inherited name, title or estate. The mountain rising up on the other side stands for the professional class, with a castle all its own. The valley at the foothills fixes the proper situation of the men of the mill and the mine, the field and the forge, the merchant, mariner, mechanic and master of invention, the Amos Lawrences and Caleb Copes and the Marshall Fields, the Ericssons, Stephen Girards, the Marconis, Teslas, Edisons and Corlisses and the mighty host of the world's real toilers, and between these three classes a great gulf is fixed! It is a fact that a considerable number of educated young men, members of a young men's society of

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a prominent church in Philadelphia, debated recently, seriously and long, the question whether a Christian life was possible to men and women engaged in mercantile business. A negative decision of the question *par consequence* covers the face of the earth with heathen resulting from a certain kind of employment.

"It becomes interesting to institute a course of inquiry as to exactly what a business or commercial life is and ascertain in what respects it prevents the proper development of the individual and endeavor to discover, if possible, what relation such employment bears to professional life and society in general. Just where and how are the lines drawn between God's children placed upon the earth interdependent on each other to earn their bread? Who gives the patent of lordliness and exclusiveness?

"The sacred obligations of our homes, the requirements of education, the cultivation of special mental gifts, the claims of philanthropy and religion and the discharge of the citizen's duty in bearing a fair share of taxation and citizenship, demand that every man and woman must work and do his or her part in one way or another. Who confers authority to sit at the Church gate in judgment of men's fitness for the Kingdom by their occupations? What else besides skill and education creates a distinction between the man who uses a scalpel and the man who uses other tools to work with?

"It is fair to say that the clergyman, doctor and lawyer are often moved by other incentives than money compensations, and that they have relations to communities and governments of a public nature, but the fact is established that

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orations and operations, surgical and legal, command the largest kind of fees, and that the field of influence and beneficence of merchants, manufacturers or foundry masters creates parishes larger than those of the lawyers, doctors and of the vast majority of clergymen.

"In this age of the science of business, the merchant must be a close student of protection, free trade, factory systems, banking, currency questions, coöperation, laws of contracts, textile education, textile machinery, social service, United States Treasury regulations under tariff laws, fire and marine insurance, architecture, mercantile laws, import laws, consular laws, shipping laws, origin and product of raw materials throughout the world, new processes of manufacture, opening of new countries like Japan, China, Russia, Korea."

Reverting again to the store and its service Wanamaker said:

"This New Kind of Store, as it was soon termed and quoted everywhere, came to life at the cry of human need. There were good points as well as bad points in the practice of business fifty years ago. The new basis originated here, belongs to us, though it is unpatentable, and the right to the honor and pride in its introduction as a whole is irrefutable and impregnable.

"What a profound change it has made in the city, this neighborhood, and the methods of commercial life everywhere! This business met customers with conveniences as their rightful due, and not merely a courtesy. It rehabilitated the people in their rights by the new system then instituted. It recognized a purchaser at the store as a kind of partner

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in a joint business transaction, entitled to the return of the money, upon return of the goods, as a matter of justice and not as a favor. Previous to the advent of this store, it was hardly possible to get anything changed, and dry-goods cut from the piece could not be exchanged at all.

"It gave to its employees a new standing by recognizing a social duty to them as employees, and requiring from them no concealments in the performance of their duties to customers.

"No marks or labels were allowed on merchandise that were not genuinely true. This course actually reduced the price of goods all over the city (to cost in many large stores) the day this store opened its doors. Three stores clubbed together soon after the store opened to raise a boycott against our getting goods to sell. They rebelled against our 'ten per cent profit, large sales and no lies.'

"The advertising of the store revolutionized advertising by its plainness, straightforwardness and reliability."

CHAPTER XI

"MOST EVERYBODY STOOD BY ME"

FOR five years now—from 1902 to 1907—Wanamaker had been paying out money, many millions of dollars, in the construction of his new store buildings in Philadelphia and New York. The Philadelphia structure was being erected in three sections to enable the business to continue on the same site. The first section was complete and open. The framework and masonry of the second section were in place. The entire building in New York, built at one time, was finished. All this costly work was being done without any special financial arrangements. Wanamaker incorporated his two stores in 1907,* but "solely for the purpose of preventing any dissolution or lack of continuity of my business," he said. No stock was issued. No bonds were offered. In the midst of this outpouring of money came the financial panic of 1907-08 that gave Wanamaker the hardest fight of his commercial life—as we read the story of his struggle in his private diary.

Arriving from Europe on September 18, 1907, he wrote: "Business has been good and everybody around here is cheerful, though financial people are blue and prophesy that everything is going to the dogs. But we will wait and see if

* John Wanamaker New York incorporated June 6, 1907, and the Philadelphia store incorporated as John Wanamaker on June 26, 1907, but the corporate title changed to John Wanamaker Philadelphia on January 20, 1911.

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the dogs get so mad that they cannot be frightened off. We are full of our work."

The following day he added: "The congestion in the money centers seems to be greater than ever, owing to the investigation of metropolitan trolleys in N. Y. The distrust created locks up money completely."

A few days later he recorded: "The tightness of money is concerning me and the long stringency makes us lose on discounts and gives chance for criticism of which there is not a little. I have retired about two millions of dollars in paper and with the thirteen millions paid on our buildings I am poor enough. Still I see daylight ahead, but it makes my days longer and my cares greater. American finances are not in a good way."

On October 21 he recorded "the failure of the great N. Y. new and popular Trust Co.," and on October 23 wrote in his diary: "Our business in both stores is going ahead of last year's sales, but I do not see how we can expect people to buy as much under existing conditions. Looking out of these high windows, there is a haze over the city and the distant hills beyond the river, but it is not nearly so bad as the haze over the financial affairs of the city. As I drove up here, I saw a long line of depositors on the sidewalk making their way to the doors of the Trust Company of America, still continuing the run. Three or four other banks did not open their doors this morning. There is a scare everywhere. People are drawing out their balances just from fear that banks will close and shut them off from the use of their money. This precipitates trouble, for the banks have not sufficient currency to stand the runs. The Lincoln Trust is

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having trouble today, and no one knows where the fire may suddenly break out.”

The following day he wrote: “T. B. W.* is so far from well that it distresses me to see him. He has just come back from Mt. Clemens, but he is very miserable. R. W.† is a stalwart of the first rank and drives right ahead in spite of no holiday. He is bright and full of inspirations. We two are the whole team—and we do a lot of pulling for a two-horse team.”

On October 26 he attended a dinner to Postmaster-General Meyer in Philadelphia, and though rumors were rife that he was about to crash he made an optimistic speech on postal matters, always near to his heart, and two days later wrote in his diary: “It certainly does take more nerve force to live in these times that may never come in the life of those who live in the next one hundred years. But ‘as thy days so shall thy strength be,’ and I go on in strong faith, always coming nearer to the full daylight if it be only step by step.”

In a letter to a friend written on the same day he said: “Possibly you hear more of the yarns going around about our business than I, and it must be a satisfaction to you to find that not one of all the fabrications thus far has turned out true—NOT ONE! That we are not taking all the discounts that we have been accustomed to take, not paying everything in the shortest time, is true, but this is unfortunately rather too common in the present financial conditions. I have done nothing since I came home but pay out money and am as poor as Job’s turkey. If I could not see my way ahead I would be forlorn indeed. There is a conspiracy of

* Thomas B. Wanamaker.

† Rodman Wanamaker.

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misrepresentation that we could charge as libelous were we to undertake to punish the offenders, but what's the use? Everything is now better, just from the standing over it that I have done. I can see my way out well enough, but I must never again run the risks of this past year of sickness and absences and semi-panic in the financial world that is so stringent today that the banks could get 12 pr. ct. for money in any amount if they had it to put out. This means, all things considered, that I cannot go on and finish the last big section of the new Philadelphia building and risk monetary conditions. Neither am I willing to disturb the merchandise end of the business to build the store. Yet the truth is that we can never settle down to do our best work until we have finished building the block. If I defer the work, I may not live to see it all done. I am moved to swallow my pride and take a mortgage always in reach and go ahead."

The situation was now critical. Rumors of his impending insolvency grew more insistent. But friends rallied to his support. James Gordon Bennett sent a cable from Paris: "Tell Wanamaker I do not believe the rumors, and I want the *Herald* to do anything he likes." (Wanamaker was advertising in the *Herald*.) Bankers, remembering that Wanamaker had never asked for a favor in twenty years, announced that they were "going the limit to help him."

On October 30 he wrote in his diary: "Many people think the world is coming to an end so far as money and business are concerned. The financial flurries are now serious. A kind of crazy wave seems to be sweeping up and down New York like an angry sea, and oozes out in drops and drips

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and streams over the whole country. I never believed that it was possible for Americans to have such fever-and-ague business attacks! There have been no runs on banks and trust companies in Philadelphia, but everybody is shivering with fear as if it were the coldest day in January and they had on linen or alpaca suits. The alarmed people are everywhere drawing in their money and hoarding it and stopping off their store buying. In New York the runs are still continuing on banks and trust companies, despite the fact that they have steadily paid depositors every day and the greater fact that Mr. Morgan and others are in the breach, helping the institutions they are interested in. . . . Our two big boats are sailing smoothly and I am comfortable, but not so far along as expected.”

On November 1 he published this announcement over his signature in the store advertising: “Our October sales in Philadelphia, ending last night, showed a handsome increase over the October of 1906. In New York we had an increase in sales this October that doubled the increase in Philadelphia. A caller said to the writer yesterday, ‘Be sure your ads will find you out.’ We are satisfied to be judged by our advertisements and by our merchandise.”

On November 2 his diary recorded: “The streets look like a greasy black blanket and naturally everything is slowing up. Still the shade as well as the light must have a place in the picture. I am well and strong and cheerful, and this is good and helpful. There are brighter days, I know, folded up in the future.”

And on November 6 he added: “As yet none can tell what is going to happen, with banks and trust companies

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still in peril after two weeks' runs. Today the great Arnold Print Works of North Adams, Mass., failed, and this old concern of all rich people was pushed to the wall in New England just because it could not borrow even on good securities. I feel so sorry for them and wish I could help them. I am blessed in being able to plow ahead toward the safe land in sight in this very rough weather."

On November 7 he recorded his faith as follows: "Friday this is, dull and gray again and rain betimes, all unfavorable for people to be out. But the man who whistles on a rainy day is in his element when things are difficult enough to wake him up. It seems queer for me to talk like this when the times are near to the supernatural and when for weeks great men's hearts have been quaking with fear and many men's fortunes have turned out to be gilded nothingness. The truth is that there is but one, the Holy One Himself, who can still this storm and calm the tumultuous waters. I am learning to pray and am looking to the Father above for light and help, not altogether for the business, but to give me health and wisdom and to make me able to cope with circumstances as they arise."

During the next two weeks the crisis was at its height. He refused to push his commercial paper, saying: "I am not going to have my name go begging on paper." He thanked God for his health and the ability to remain "in the saddle." He wrote, "It is real fun to have all the details of this business in my hands again—everything passes through me and I am attentive to matters of routine that I have not thought about for 20 years." He said "the waves are breaking hard but they do not engulf me." He spoke of "going out to

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battle with a musket on my shoulder.” He added, “Mother was in today,” and that gave him comfort. He wrote, “we will not join in the hysterical advertising elsewhere, we have concluded to go along in our unsensational way and not do any crazy-quilt pages.”

On November 13 he wrote in his diary: “The most serious of the hard times is just here and it is difficult to forecast the future. The luxuries are not selling—silks, pianos, jewelry, and the sales in N. Y. are heavily less all the month and now are falling off here. Merchants and manufacturers are all dreadfully poor and cannot turn around, as stock gamblers and cliques in New York have all the money. . . . This is not a pessimistic spell upon me, but a deep conviction forced upon me after a week of digging into facts that are cropping out all over the country showing its poverty and needs. But I feel right well and equal to a lot of work, though I can’t keep up to R. W.’s steam engine.”

And again on November 19: “This Tuesday is another new day of fighting and conquest. I have been all over the place reviewing the troops and we are in battle order. The Christmas-time percentages began yesterday as a new boon and possible incentive to greater efforts. Having not so many spenders and selling lower-priced goods we must strive more to please all who come. . . . But for God’s grace, I should have been submerged by the unforeseen circumstances. Before the end of the month we shall have emerged from the heavy part of our load. December promises almost entire relief. It has all come around by our own labor and adjustments and without any financial help of any sort outside of ourselves—practically the work of R. W.

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and myself, humanly speaking, and by the great goodness and help of our Heavenly Father who has given us wisdom and strength in body, mind, and heart, to do the best things and to make for us the path we have walked in by His clearing the obstacles in the road."

Groups of financiers tempted him with offers to buy his business. One offered to pay a price set by impartial appraisers for his buildings and stock and ten million dollars additional for the name and good-will of John Wanamaker. He refused even to discuss the proposition.

The United States Steel Corporation, to whom he owed large sums for the steel in his new buildings, decided without request and without discussion to carry Wanamaker's account to the following February.

He continued to write in his diary: "I am going on day after day with a heart strong in the belief that the Heavenly Father has me in His keeping and will guide me and do for me what is best." And again: "I am counting off the days one by one as we travel to the land of deliverance. In a fortnight more (written December 4) we shall be almost through the thickets. I believe January will see me quite out into the open again and with blue skies—to stay, practically, so far as my human knowledge and power can forecast. I am so thankful for this Cape of Good Hope close at hand."

But the Cape of Good Hope was not so close at hand as he imagined. The crises continued into 1908, and in January and February he wrote:

"There is much unrest everywhere. Rates of money are lower, but the railroads want the first call, and their needs are said to be from 400 to 600 millions at once. This will

“MOST EVERYBODY STOOD BY ME”

make congested conditions for general business for a long time. As to ourselves, we are making good progress steadily toward the winning post, and shaping everything not to be caught again like the five foolish virgins. It is a hard lesson to have to learn, but discipline is sometimes needful. I am sure I shall be the better for learning to depend on myself, humanly speaking, rather than on the financial systems of our country that now operate by the might and money power of a few men. I am cheerfully, yes, hopefully, living a day at a time, and all the time seeing things clear up. We are still in a hard and difficult place, but all things are overcomable, and so I go on with patience, well assured of the desired outcome. The panic may come again some time, just as it did last year, but we shall take care not to be subject to such a pressure. I am so busy trying to reshape the N. Y. store that I found lying in the trough of the sea. The business that came was upon the Philadelphia reputation and much that we got left us because we were not found worthy.”

His son, Thomas B. Wanamaker, died on March 2, 1908. Ogden had retired from the business. Yet he went on, with the aid of his son Rodman and the devoted men in his organization, through the trying days of 1908, able to write about it later as “why should I consider it a terrible experience? It was a great lesson—and then, blessed discovery, ‘most everybody stood by me.’”

By 1909 the storm was completely weathered. The Philadelphia building was successfully financed. Commercial paper moved easily. Rumors of Wanamaker's failure were not heard again.

CHAPTER XII

JOHN WANAMAKER'S PIONEERING IN MOTOR TRANSPORT

IN the early days of the twentieth century that new-fangled vehicle, the automobile, was coming into prominence, and of course John Wanamaker began selling it along with his other merchandise. At the time he had one of the best harness and horse-goods stores in the country, and if the horse was to give way to the automobile, it was a merchant's business to lead the transition and replace out-of-date merchandise with new. So he stocked the *Searchmont*, the *Studebaker*, the *Rambler* among gasoline cars, and the *Foster* steam car.

The advertising writers had great fun with those early cars. The rule of the store has always been to examine the merchandise before advertising it. So they proceeded to examine and test the automobiles. When they went out in the steam car they had to stop at the foot of a hill before making the climb, to get up enough extra steam. The gasoline cars, one and two "lungers" as they were called, always had to shift into "low" to take even a small grade. One day a journey to Lancaster, 68 miles distant from Philadelphia, was essayed in the *Searchmont*. It became an all-day journey. Starting early in the morning, Downingtown, midway, was reached in time for luncheon. The party arrived

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triumphantly at Lancaster in the evening. But some of the hills had to be negotiated backward—the reverse had more power than the forward speeds and it was the only way the automobile could ascend a stiff grade.

At first John Wanamaker was only mildly interested in the automobile as merchandise, feeling that it was not yet far enough perfected to guarantee—and the public expected from Wanamaker's a full guarantee of satisfaction on everything sold.

But early in 1903 a new condition arose. Henry Ford, who made his first car in 1893, placed on the market a new car that undersold all existing cars by \$600. Not liking this new competition the Association of Licensed Automobile Manufacturers sued Ford for infringement of the Selden patent. The members of this Association had agreed to pay royalties to George B. Selden, the owner of the patent. Ford refused to pay. Therefore, Ford was to be put out of the market.

Having had experience in fighting and overcoming such opposition in the bicycle industry, in which he had flouted the bogey patents that could not be sustained in the courts, bringing down prices to half what they were, John Wanamaker, as a pioneer, went eagerly into this new fight in the service of the public. He knew what he faced. In taking over the Ford agency for New York and Philadelphia he automatically became co-defendant with the Ford Motor Company in the suits that had already been brought. This did not deter him. He welcomed the fight.

Ford at this time was little known. John Wanamaker was universally known as a merchant who kept his guarantee.

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So, when Wanamaker announced that "when you buy a Ford motor car from John Wanamaker you are guaranteed against any trouble with the Trust; that's all the insurance any man will want," the people read and believed and bought. The Ford car went on its triumphant way, and the foundation was laid for the great success and fortune of Henry Ford.

The Wanamaker advertising of the Ford car was characteristically bold and vigorous. It said: "Remember that John Wanamaker will take care of all his customers in any litigation growing out of the infringement suits over the Ford car, without a cent of cost to any of them. Get a Ford car and enjoy it. We'll take care of the tom-toms. Don't give \$600 to the Bogey Man.

"The Ford motor car, with tonneau, is a double cylinder machine, seating four people, and its price is \$900. The cheapest two-cylinder tonneau sold by the Trust is \$1,500.

"Henry Ford has proven that he has the highest mechanical ability in automobile construction by building the racer that holds the world's record of 39 2-5 seconds against the next best record of 46 seconds—which means that if both machines started at the same time and ran at that rate of speed for an hour the Ford car would make 91 miles against 78 by its nearest competitor. A good piece behind the other fellow, as everyone must agree.

"Well, that isn't Henry Ford's only achievement in distancing all competitors. He has put the same extraordinary mechanical ability into building the best motor cars yet produced for popular use. And he has the facilities to pro-

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duce them in large numbers. As told above, the Ford Motor Car, with tonneau, has two opposed cylinders, and carries four people, and costs only \$900. The Trust Car that compares with it costs \$1,500.

"So Henry Ford has distanced his competitors in his commercial production even more than in racing. And it hurts. The Ford motor car cannot be beaten by the Trust in competition; so they have erected a scarecrow, to frighten the buying public. The smart crows know that there is always corn where the scarecrow is; and the man who wants to get his money's worth when buying an automobile can depend on it that all these suits instigated against the Ford Motor Car Company are brought only because the Trust realizes that it can't compete with Henry Ford and his splendid \$800 and \$900 cars.

"But we believe that the Selden patent is worthless. The Trust had three suits in court against the Ford Motor Car before it started the suits against John Wanamaker. One suit would be plenty, if the company were seeking to uphold its rights. But when persecution is the object, and when the public is to be frightened from buying the best cars made at the price, then the more noise they can make, the bigger they think their Bogey Man will look. Don't pay \$600 too much to the Bogey Man."

A later advertisement said:

"Of course, the Trust doesn't expect the noise of the tom-toms and its straw-stuffed scarecrows to frighten John Wanamaker. If the Selden patent were of any value the Trust could shut up every factory outside of the Trust

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in short order. It isn't necessary to congest the courts with a lot of petty cases, when a man can establish the validity of his patent right.

"The Trust is not taking any notice of the fifty or so other unlicensed automobile manufacturers who are using the Selden patent. They can be met with competitive cars. But the Ford can't be so met. So out come the tom-toms and scarecrows, to frighten you.

"These suits don't frighten the unlicensed manufacturers; and they don't frighten John Wanamaker. We know the threats to be harmless. But they are hoping that you don't know that; and they want to scare you into buying a Trust car that isn't half as good as the Ford. It's all right to say 'Boo!' to the goose; but that's a poor argument to use to frighten a grown-up man, who wants to get the best automobile for his money."

With John Wanamaker's endorsement and guarantee, Ford cars, even in their early development of two cylinders, began selling like the proverbial hot cakes. The litigation over the Selden patent dragged through the courts until 1912 before Ford finally won, but by that time, with his four-cylinder car, he had won the patronage of the American people so universally that he was intrenched as America's greatest manufacturer of popular-priced motor cars.

"Though historians of the automobile repeatedly skip over this vital chapter in the amazing merchandising of motor cars," wrote Frederick C. Russel in "Advertising and Selling" (issue of July 13, 1927) "it is important to note that Wanamaker had put across a vital message to the public—

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and over ten million people have bought Fords, automatically stimulating sales of twice as many cars produced by competitors." *

* By 1927, fifteen million Ford cars had been marketed, and the new Ford model produced and announced—and by winter of 1929 the new output had reached a total of more than two and one-half million cars.

CHAPTER XIII

RODMAN WANAMAKER'S PIONEERING IN AVIATION

WITH the development of the gasoline motor, it was natural that air transport should follow transportation by automobile. And just as natural that airplanes should find a place in the activities of Wanamaker's. In this phase of merchandising, however, it was Rodman Wanamaker who became the pioneer. For many years he had been equally interested with his father in developing the greatest harness store in America. He loved horses. During his ten years' residence in Paris, from 1888 to 1898 as head of the Wanamaker Paris House, he took up coaching as a sport. His coach-and-four, himself on the box, became a familiar sight on the highways of France. Upon one occasion, with some of his family and his father as passengers, he drove from Paris to London—ferrying the coach and horses across the Channel—triumphantly bowling into London on a trip that has never been duplicated. With the coming of the automobile, he had become somewhat interested in this new form of transportation, and he and his brother, Thomas, brought to America one of the first taxicabs and placed it in the service of the Philadelphia Store.

But the new air transportation appealed to Rodman Wanamaker's imagination and challenged his initiative.

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When the Wright Brothers and Glenn Curtiss were making their pioneering flights in the United States, and Santos-Dumont, Delagrange and Farman in Europe, he turned to aviation as the coming vehicle of commerce. And when Bleriot flew across the English Channel in July, 1909, Rodman Wanamaker, being in Paris at the time, instantly purchased a replica of the Bleriot monoplane, placed it on exhibition in the New York and Philadelphia Wanamaker's, and sold it to an American sportsman, the first aeroplane to be sold by a store.

Foreseeing that some time in the future, ships of the air would have airports on the tops of high buildings, he decided to demonstrate that a balloon could safely take off from a high roof and he planned a flight from the roof of the new Wanamaker building in New York. Conferring with Leo Stevens, a famous balloonist of the day, he eventually purchased a balloon in Europe. In making the arrangements he wrote from Paris:

"As to balloons and aeroplanes, I have been interested since Bleriot crossed the Channel. I believe that the balloon you have is a good one. It would be necessary, of course, for you to carefully make your arrangements so that you will not suffer defeat of your plan, but you could make a great event of it, both in New York and Philadelphia, if you could possibly work it out. I do not like to be doing anything in my absence that might not possibly fit in with any of Mr. Wanamaker's thoughts, but I presume if he regarded it as a feasible plan with myself, that he would not make objection, except to carefully caution every one about

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the delicacy of the responsibility of the situation. I would not lose any time if it is possible to go ahead."

The plans matured and under his direction the ascension was made from the new Wanamaker building in New York on July 8, 1911, by Leo Stevens and W. D. Gash, the balloon landing safely in New Jersey after a flight of several hours. It was the first time an ascension had been made from a high building.

When Glenn Curtiss continued his successful flights at Hammondsport and down the Hudson to New York, Rodman Wanamaker began conferring with him on the possibility of constructing a flying boat capable of crossing the Atlantic Ocean. Curtiss became as enthusiastic as Wanamaker and between them they worked out the plans, which by autumn of 1913 had so far matured that rumors of the projected transatlantic flight were reported in the press, though Rodman Wanamaker's name was kept secret.

In 1914 Rodman Wanamaker sent the following letter on February 4 of that year to the Aero Club of America:

"In the cause of science and in the interest of world peace, I have the honor to announce first of all to the Aero Club of America, my intention to make a purely scientific test of aeronautic power by crossing the Atlantic Ocean in one flight if possible.

"In this serious undertaking, which is the supreme test of aviation, and which, if successful, will have most influential consequences, I ask the coöperation of the Aero Club of America, and through them the coöperation of the governments of the United States and of Great Britain and of the Royal Aero Club of England.

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"The trans-atlantic flyer to be used in the journey is now being constructed by Mr. Glenn H. Curtiss, from plans that we have been studying for a long time.

"I sincerely hope that the operators and navigators may be from the navies of the United States and of Great Britain, because naval aeronauts have the qualifications necessary to navigate this uncharted journey in the air.

"I have said this undertaking is in the interest of world peace. Let me explain what I mean. Once across the ocean in one flight of an air craft, and the nations of the world will awaken to the realization of the tremendous importance aeronautics may prove to be to every nation.

"This year we are celebrating a hundred years' peace between Great Britain and the United States, and it would be a fitting climax to this celebration, if these two countries could link themselves more closely together by this international flight across the ocean, demonstrating to the world that the time for the disarmament of nations is at hand, if for no other reason than because aeronautics has reached a stage where even the greatest dreadnaught battleships may become futile in their power.

"I have said also the undertaking is in the cause of science. The science of aviation has made great strides within only a few years. It has conquered many of nature's obstacles. It has crossed the English Channel, so late as 1909, when accomplishment seemed utterly impossible. It has conquered the Alps. Yet it halts at the great ocean, and until one of our great oceans is crossed in a single flight, aviation will not have met the supreme test.

"The crossing of the Atlantic Ocean in one flight of an air craft is, to my mind, as important to aerial navigation as was the voyage of Columbus to transportation by water. It will be of far more practical importance than was the successful expedition to the North Pole.

"What man has done once, he can do any number of times. Once the Atlantic is crossed in a single flight of an air-ship, there

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will soon follow regular trans-atlantic trips and a fixed safe trans-atlantic passenger air line. It is not a dream that within a few years we shall be able to enter an air-craft in New York on Friday afternoon, be in London on Saturday, spend the week end there, and return to New York in time for business on Monday.

"The crossing of the Atlantic by air is not a matter merely of initiative, nor of daring, nor even of skill; it is a problem of science.

"As a scientific and humanitarian undertaking, I venture to ask your coöperation and the coöperation of the governments of the United States and Great Britain. Their help will be most valuable in the meteorological and hydrostatic advice which they can give on the question of wind and weather, in the assistance of the navies in permitting naval officers to operate this air-craft and in the placing of naval vessels along the route of the proposed flight to insure safety in case of a possible accident.

"As a member of the Aero Club of America, I sincerely hope that we shall have the honor of being the first to succeed in this supreme test of the air and to make undying history for our country in the cause of science and for the uplift of the whole world."

The *America*, as Rodman Wanamaker named the hydro-plane constructed by Curtiss, was ready for the ocean flight in the summer of 1914 but the Great War suddenly intervened and after being offered to the United States government, the flying boat was turned over to the Allies at the request of Curtiss who had received an order from Great Britain for planes of the same type.

On March 5, 1916, Rodman Wanamaker sent another letter to the Aero Club of America, advising the club of the following developments:

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"1. Lieutenant (now Commander) John C. Porte, who was to command the *America*, was called to his country by the war.

"2. Receiving orders for hydroplanes of the *America's* type, Mr. Curtiss, the builder, asked the privilege of turning over the craft, when finished, as part of his order. The request was granted and the *America* is flying today in England.

"3. Pursuing my sole purpose—to build an air-craft that will cross the ocean—The America Trans-Oceanic Company was incorporated and the company, acting for me, has placed an order for a new and larger *America* to be built over my plans and specifications. The new craft is now under construction and will be tested at the Atlantic Coast Aeronautical Station at Newport News, we hope, early in the summer.

"4. When completed and accepted, the new *America* will make the attempt to cross the Atlantic, in which project I again venture to ask the coöperation of the Aero Club of America, of your affiliated clubs, and of our own and foreign governments who may be interested in the flight.

"I still believe that the first crossing of the ocean will bring quickly in its train aerial lines which will regularly cross in the air from continent to continent, a faith which I expressed in my letter of February 4, 1914.

"In connection with the above, I still believe that the first crossing of the Atlantic Ocean will only mark an epoch in aerial navigation and this faith in its future is another important reason for the existence of The America Trans-Oceanic Company, Inc. I hope to see the day when this company will be running aerial liners regularly across the Atlantic and other oceans."

The America Trans-Oceanic Company, organized by Rodman Wanamaker, and referred to by him in this letter, established headquarters in New York and under the direction of David McCullough who had accompanied Commander Towers on the navy's flight to the Azores, main-

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tained for a time a flying base at Miami, Florida, for the purpose of advancing aviation in the marketing of aeroplanes and the inauguration of commercial air transportation between the United States and Europe.

During the Great War the science of aviation made great strides, and soon after its close the Atlantic Ocean was crossed by three types of air-craft—hydroplane, biplane and dirigible. On May 16, 1919, the U. S. naval hydroplane, N. C. 4, with Commander Towers in command, flew from British North America to Lisbon, Portugal, 2,150 miles, stopping at the Azores at forced landing, in actual flying time of 26 hours, 45 minutes; on June 14, 1919, Captain John Alcock and Lieutenant Arthur W. Brown flew a British biplane from St. Johns, Newfoundland, to Ireland, 1,960 miles, in 16 hours and 12 minutes; and dirigibles began crossing the Atlantic—in July, 1919, the R-34 from Scotland to New York, 3,130 miles, in 108 hours, 12 minutes, returning to England, 3,200 miles, in 74 hours, 56 minutes; and in October, 1924, the ZR-3 (now the Los Angeles) from Germany to the United States, 5,066 miles, in 81 hours, 17 minutes.

Rodman Wanamaker followed these flights with the interest of a scientist, pursuing his own plans for the development of an air-craft that would be practical for trans-oceanic *commercial* transportation, for passenger, mail and freight. The *America* type of hydroplane had given good service around England during the war and as recently as 1928 Captain Courtney who attempted a hydroplane flight from Europe to America but was thwarted near the Azores

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by a fire developing on the plane, said: "Rodman Wanamaker's first *America*, a sea plane, gave great impetus to ocean flying; the *America* type was successful in the war; it demonstrated conclusively that in the flying boat lies the future of a regular air service between Europe and America. Our plane showed that a flying boat can sustain itself on the water indefinitely. Within a few years I believe an express service between this country and Europe with flying boats will be an actuality."

But the land plane had advanced beyond the hydroplane for long-distance travel due to its larger carrying ability, and Rodman Wanamaker began searching for a land plane and capable pilots for his third *America*. He insisted, however, that the plane be equipped with the latest and most powerful form of radio that could be carried, for purposes of navigation and to safeguard it against any emergency. He kept true to his original purpose of a strictly scientific flight that would advance both the cause of aviation and of world peace, by linking the countries on both sides of the Atlantic in commerce and good-will.

When Henry Ford and Edsel Ford had ready for marketing their first all-metal Stout aeroplane, Rodman Wanamaker purchased the first one, had it flown in October, 1925, from Detroit to New York and placed it on sale, inaugurating the first aeroplane department in a store. And he quickly sold the plane—the first sale of a *commercial* plane—thus linking the pioneering of the Ford automobile with the pioneering of the Ford aeroplane.

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When Commander Richard E. Byrd* and Floyd Bennett on May 9, 1926, made their sensational flight in a monoplane from Spitzbergen over the North Pole and return, 1,600 miles, in 15 hours, 51 minutes, Rodman Wanamaker contributed financially to that expedition and gave to Commander Byrd an American flag to be carried over the pole.

Upon the return of Byrd and Bennett to the United States, where they received great honors and acclaim from government and people, there came an insistent demand that the North Pole plane be placed on public view. Recognizing the wishes of the people, Commander Byrd wrote to Rodman Wanamaker on July 5, 1926: "Your proposed transatlantic flight in 1914 and your constant interest in and enthusiasm for aviation have been a great inspiration to me in all my efforts. As it is not practical to leave the plane on a field for public view on account of the deterioration sure to result, I am pleased to invite your coöperation to this end—I would be grateful, should you care to do so, to have your organization arrange for the display of the plane in your New York and Philadelphia Stores."

The North Pole plane was thus exhibited for several months and viewed by millions of interested and enthusiastic people from all parts of the country and foreign lands.

This coöperation led Rodman Wanamaker to open negotiations with Commander Byrd and Lieutenant Bennett for a transatlantic flight with a new *America*. Finally choosing as the best type so far developed a tri-motored Fokker monoplane which had proved so successful during the war, he commissioned the building of the third *America*,

*In December, 1929, Congress appointed Commander Byrd a Rear Admiral in recognition of his flight over the South Pole on November 28, 1929, and his Antarctic explorations.

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the second *America* having been superseded by new models. Wanamaker himself helped to work out the new plans.

The third *America* was ready early in the year of 1927. On its first factory trial flight, however, with full load for the transatlantic flight, the *America* was damaged, and Floyd Bennett was injured. At the time Commander Byrd, who sustained a fractured wrist in the accident, wrote to Rodman Wanamaker:

"Bennett and Noville are going to get all right I am glad to say. Next to my thought of their condition, I have been thinking of you, and I am so very sorry that we have given you this concern. You are a good sport not to show any disappointment in me. I would not for the world have had this come to you. Whatever may be my fault, I want to assure you that no blame whatever can be attached to Bennett or Noville—they have given you their best effort and loyalty. I have tried to give you my best, too, and in spite of this mishap I still think the *America* is the greatest airplane ever built. Her performance in the air was remarkable. I understood so perfectly just what fine things you were striving to accomplish and I have been behind you and with you with all my heart. I want to say this, Mr. Wanamaker, I am proud of my association with you, and it has been a very refreshing thing."

Before the third *America* could be repaired, Captain Nungesser and Major Coli made their ill-fated attempt to fly westward over the Atlantic from France, and were lost. Rodman Wanamaker immediately made this statement:

"America sorrows with France as the hours go by without word of the French heroes, Captain Nungesser and Major Coli. The people of the United States wanted these brave men to reach our shores. There awaited them in New York

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a welcome that could only have been equaled in their own country, so intense was the desire to see them safely arrive. Ambassador Herrick well knows this underlying feeling of friendship that no temporary misunderstanding can disturb. It was never the intention for the *America* to start the New York-Paris flight until the French aviators were found or the world accepted their loss as the supreme sacrifice to the science of aviation. And then, the *America* will start only when every safeguard has been taken. The *America* enters no race. Its flight is to be solely in the cause of scientific progress. Its purpose is to pioneer that transatlantic air navigation may safely come, as come it will. Since 1914 when I built the first *America* this alone has been my purpose. Commander Byrd, Lieutenant Bennett and Lieutenant Noville volunteered to fly the new *America*. (Balchen was later added to the crew.) Knowing their skill, courage and indomitable will, so soundly proved in many flights, I was rejoiced to have their coöperation. Unfortunately before the *America* was turned over to me by the builder there was a mishap and Lieutenant Bennett was temporarily disabled. Not wishing to proceed without him I offered to await his full recovery.

"The *America* has not yet been accepted by me and will not be until its test flights prove its scientific soundness. And when it does come into my hands I shall not release it for the transatlantic flight until the uncertainty over the French aviators is dispelled.

"Pioneering requires the impetuosity and even rashness of daring youth, but it should be guided as far as possible by the slower, but surer hand of science."

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As the time drew near for the flight of the *America*, Rodman Wanamaker redoubled his efforts to safeguard its journey, writing to the United States Secretary of the Navy, the British Air Ministry, and Ambassador Herrick, in Paris, asking that the three governments place warships along the proposed route to safeguard the passage against possible emergency. He also financially protected the families of the men who were to fly the plane, installed a powerful radio, designed by the U. S. Naval Research Laboratories, and delayed the flight until every possible precaution could be taken.

During this precautionary delay, that intrepid aviator, greatest of them all, Charles A. Lindbergh, came to New York, flying from the Pacific coast, and single-handed and in a single-motored plane made the epic flight from New York to Paris in June, 1927, which set the whole world aflame with his daring and skill.

Acclaiming this flight as the most heroic ever made, and giving full credit to Colonel Lindbergh not only for his great contribution to aviation but to the good-will of the world, Rodman Wanamaker continued his plans for the flight of the *America*, believing that a plane with multiple motors was the type that must be developed before the ocean is actually conquered by air route and transatlantic *commercial* air travel is established.

Keeping also in mind the *good-will* mission of international air transportation, so greatly fostered by Colonel Lindbergh, he placed the word "Peace" on the *America*, and procured an historic flag of the United States which the *America* was to carry to France, writing to President Dou-

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merguez of the French Republic the following letter to be presented by Commander Byrd:

"Your Excellency:

"The pioneering aeroplane, *America*, brings to France a sacred flag of the United States. It was made by the hands of a great-great-grand-niece of Betsy Ross of Philadelphia, who designed and made the first flag of our Republic. And it has incorporated in it pieces of the identical bunting used in the creating of the original stars and stripes.

"To you, sir, Richard E. Byrd, Commander of the *America*, will bring this flag with the request that you hallow it at the shrine of Lafayette where this valiant knight of France and courageous friend of America lies beneath the mingled soil taken from both countries, and where with suitable ceremonies the flag may express again the deep feelings of gratitude that we always hold for the indomitable sons and daughters of heroic France."

Upon the eve of the flight of the *America*, Commander Byrd sent this telegram to Rodman Wanamaker from the flying field on Long Island:

"On the eve of our departure I want to express to you the deep appreciation of my shipmates and myself for the unstinted and wholehearted way you have backed us and given us a chance to be of some service to our country. Our sincere good wishes to you
(signed) R. E. BYRD."

Early on the morning of June 29, 1927, the *America* began its historic flight from New York to Paris, with the crew consisting of Commander Byrd, Lieutenant George Noville, who acted as radio operator, Bert Acosta and Bernt Balchen.

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Wireless communication was maintained with the America Trans-Oceanic Station on Long Island and with the Radio Corporation of America station at Chatham, Mass., where signals were received on an automatic tape recorder from 6:04 A.M. until 2:25 A.M. of the following day, June 30—messages to Rodman Wanamaker running like this: “automatic (wireless) O. K. on 690 meters” . . . “Byrd signals good, seems going O. K.” . . . “passing Cape Cod, misty and raining, all well” . . . “halfway between Cape Cod and Yarmouth out of sight of land, extra cans of gas causing trouble with compass” . . . “a message for good old Floyd Bennett, tell him we miss him like the dickens” . . . “wire our best wishes to Maitland and crew (who had just completed their air voyage from California to Hawaii); we are keeping a sharp lookout for Nungesser; wind does not help us at surface, good at half-mile mark; think we are getting some scientific data” . . . “*America* passed Scatari at 2:03 P.M. flying about 500 feet” . . . “crew in good condition, head winds are bothering us” . . . “dense fog covers all Newfoundland, getting above it, have had adverse winds, impossible to navigate, could hardly see wing tips, running into another one (fog) now” . . . “no time to muss with code now, this is hectic job” . . . “*America* still going O. K., ships still reporting him” . . . “signals still audible at midnight” . . . “we have seen neither land nor water (2:25 A.M. July 30) since 4 P.M. yesterday on account of dense fog and low clouds covering an enormous area” . . . “everything completely covered with fog, whatever happens I take my hat off to these three great fellows with me.”

At 9:05 A.M. July 30 the London R. C. A. station began

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to report messages from the British Admiralty picked up from steamers, stating that the *America* was asking for position and repeating messages caught by the Chatham station.

At 11 Greenwich Meridian time to Paris, via Valencia the *America* reported "we are 10,000 ft. in a freezing dense fog—thanks—you have helped us a lot, position 11 G. M. T. 49-30 N., 18-10 W."

At 11:05 A.M. (daylight saving time) . . . from a French radio station: "we hope to sight land at end of hour, crew feeling fine after strenuous trip" . . . "Byrd in spite of fog seems well—this seems 2,000 miles out from New York and preparations are being made for reception shortly after midnight."

At 19:48 G. M. T. (7:48 in the evening) July 30, came the flash, forwarded by the British Admiralty: "just crossed border line of France."

From this time and location the radio signals ceased. The *America* had met a great storm and was flying blindly. Apparently the plane flew in circles, at one time passing over Paris which could not be seen because of the rain and fog. Fighting the storm and darkness for many hours, and travelling about 4,200 miles, the *America* finally landed, in the late night of June 30, on the coast of Brittany at Versur-Mer—which Rodman Wanamaker explained later was near the site of his summer home when he was in residence in Paris from 1888 to 1898—"the plane found my old home," he added—and the epic flight of the *America* was ended.

But it was only the beginning of the ovation which Com-

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mander Byrd and his crew received at Paris, whence they were taken by automobile after being warmly received and housed for the remainder of the night by the fisher-folk at Ver-sur-Mer. A monument now marks the spot on the Brittany coast where the *America* landed.

The reception at Paris almost equalled that accorded Lindbergh. The aviators were honored by the French Government and fêted by the people. The French press acclaimed the scientific contribution of the flight and the stimulus to good-will between the nations and the strengthening of the peace of the world.

Thus all of Rodman Wanamaker's intentions in making the flight were fulfilled. The *America* was damaged in its descent in the water at the coastline, but was sufficiently salvaged to be brought home to the United States. The "Betsy Ross" flag which the *America* carried was delivered to President Doumergue, was hallowed at the shrine of Lafayette, and at the request of the French Government now reposes in the Musée Carnavalet in Paris.

Upon their return to America, Commander Byrd and his associates were again accorded signal honors by the government of the United States and the city of New York, and on July 24, 1927, Commander Byrd wrote to Rodman Wanamaker: "Am returning to you the American flag which I carried for you over the North Pole May 9, 1926, and also on the *America* on her transatlantic flight. It has given me a great deal of pleasure to carry this flag for you on account of my high esteem and regard for you personally and for your great unselfish patriotism."

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At a luncheon given by Rodman Wanamaker on July 9, 1927, Commander Byrd said: "I remember upon coming into aviation the interest I took in your patriotic venture, Mr. Wanamaker, with the first airplane *America*, which you intended for a transatlantic flight, which project was interrupted by the Great War when you patriotically turned over the plane to the Allies. It was the inspiration which I got from this venture which caused me to recommend early in 1919 that the navy attempt a transatlantic flight. Commander Towers followed with another recommendation soon thereafter; the navy took up the subject and you know the result"—referring to the flight of the NC-4 reported earlier in this chapter.

Historians will undoubtedly record that it was Rodman Wanamaker's clear vision, steady faith, and unquenchable spirit of thirteen years' duration, since the first *America* was built in 1914, that brought to a successful conclusion the first transatlantic crossing in a *multi-motored* airplane, the type that many experts believe will be the air liner of the future.

CHAPTER XIV

THE GOLDEN FRUITION

DURING 1911 John Wanamaker celebrated the Golden Jubilee of the business—50 years a merchant! Among the tributes paid to him none was more impressive than that from his own store family. This private tribute began with the Anniversary Breakfast on March 13, at which the employees of both stores presented to him a red rose as a token of their love, and a sealed letter, pledging a further gift to be revealed on Jubilee Day in the autumn.

Reading the poem which Henry W. Longfellow wrote upon the fiftieth anniversary of Louis Agassiz, the naturalist, the spokesman for the store family called Wanamaker the Human Naturalist who had devoted his life to the study of man, his wants, his needs, his desires, and had ministered unto them. "But you have done more than merely supply human needs," he added, "you have gone into the homes of the people. You have looked into their minds, their hearts, into their relations with one another. You have raised their standard of living by supplying them with new comforts and conveniences, by bringing art and culture into their lives, giving them a new outlook, surrounding them with a new environment. And we change men by changing their environment."

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In accepting the mysterious letter, Mr. Wanamaker said:

"I am very sure that all the members of my family—whose hearts seem to be so close to me this morning—will know that I am still too young not to be greatly affected by surprise—the entire surprise of this moment.

"I have always felt that I was in the ranks with you. I have always had a broom in my hand, since the morning of which this is the anniversary, trying to sweep the way clear for your work, and to sweep out new paths for you to walk together in. And, while I have been your chief, I have never set myself above you, because we have walked abreast.

"We are still walking abreast, with sunny and heroic spirit, following the red rose, which has been like a brilliant star guiding our way through all the years—and they have not been long. You and I have simply found some work to do, and we have borne hard on it.

"We have not grown old. Years do not make age. Given good health, which is—or ought to be—the personal care of each one of us, the only thing that can make us old is losing sight of the star, and losing interest in each other and in what we have to do.

"I do not doubt—from the feeling I have at this moment, when words fail me to express the gratefulness of my heart, not only for so much that referred to the past but also for the one thing that is the Blue Ribbon of all things this morning, not only for your words but also for the manner of expressing them, for the tears in our eyes as we hear them—I doubt not that we love each other, that we have not lost regard or respect, though these may often have

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been strained by business circumstances of which time did not permit an explanation.

"We have marched on together. The people whom I have seen grown up from young manhood, people who were boys like those about us, had nothing like the opportunities of the young men and women who are here, who are doing so very splendidly. I have seen you grow to your present honors, many of you to great distinction as experts in your particular calling, and I thank God for the privilege of having lived with you.

"There is something else in business than the mere contract that binds us in each other's service. I am so pleased that everything about us expresses this to you and to others who have followed. It has been the common practice for many years—and still is in many cities—simply to live by a bond that is written in black and white. Our bond is quite a different one: it is written in the whiteness of honor and in the redness of the fervent love in every one of our hearts. This is the tie that binds, and it is stronger than any other bond that could possibly be written.

"This is not simply an anniversary breakfast. It is a wedding breakfast, in the sense that it will wed us closer together for the greater things that are ahead of us. I know it is a common thing to say that there is no sentiment in business. But it seems to me, as I stand here before you at this table, that in all the experience of my life I can think of nothing that will remain in my memory so beautiful as this, because I see the faces not only of comrades but of friends. I seem to feel myself passing upward as though in an aeroplane.

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"I believe it will do us good to rise above the little things, the disappointing things, the difficult things, and to see the larger things that are now facing us and to ask ourselves how we are to meet them. It is not possible for all of us to be captains. Happy is the man who knows his own limitations—happy the woman who has risen to a place far beyond her expectations—happy are all who adjust themselves with contentment to do their very best, still hoping for a larger growth and a larger opportunity. It would be a great loss if ambition were to be blotted out of our program, but worry, fear, the sense of not being properly recognized, of not rising to the point to which some one else has risen—these are a great detriment and hindrance to any one.

"I am calling you this morning not to go back and dream over the things that have been done—the conquering of prejudice; the overcoming of studied opposition to a new thing; the certainty of old merchants that we had come to the wrong place and at the wrong time, that we had made a wrong beginning in such a large thing; the combined opposition of store-keepers; the queer opposition of the newspapers—the Sunday newspaper (not such as we have today—but of a far different standard from the present Sunday press); the utter abandonment of sympathy by the banking interests of the city—no sympathy from any of them. And here we stood and worked together, and by the goodness of God marked out a new road which has brought us up to this morning.

"We can never have so many discouragements ahead of us as we had away back in the past. I tell you—with a memory that I think is clear—that, except for the men like Richard

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Irwin and Josiah Bunting and a few others whose names I could mention, who had the courage to leave their situations and come and enter our service, I do not believe there was another man in the city of Philadelphia—save our speaker—who had absolute faith in the undertaking that began here. I shall thank you if any of you recollect any man in the city who believed in what we were doing. But because of the rightness of the principle, and the intelligent and unmeasured labor that was behind it, we are here this morning.

“You will find in the old Guild Hall in London the unit of linear measurement—a yardstick. You will find in Washington the foot rule, another linear standard, and standards in liquid measurement. We were making standards and units for the future mercantile business of this country.

“So you can regard your store as a different kind of store. When you read this in our advertising, do not say that it is just an advertisement.

“You are a different kind of man, you are a different kind of woman, because we have lived together and have studied the possibility of honor in business; a truthfulness in statement, oral or printed; justice in every transaction—in the quality and value of the goods and in the exactitude of representations made.”

The mystery of the letter presented to Wanamaker by his store family was revealed on Jubilee Night, celebrated October 28, 1911, on which occasion 6,500 men, women, boys and girls of the Philadelphia business and a delegation from New York assembled in the Philadelphia Store and for two

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hours marched through the Grand Court to do honor to their "big chief," who together with his son, Rodman, members of their private families, and a number of personal guests, occupied the reviewing stand.

It was a family affair. The public was not admitted.

After the pageant, which in its exhibits was symbolical of the history not only of the store but of the city, the store spokesman said:

"We are here for a single purpose—to complete the tribute which began last March at the opening of your Jubilee, when we handed you a sealed envelope which we asked you to put in the safe and keep sealed until this meeting.

"By your leave I have taken that envelope from the safe and will let out the secret tonight.

"We have purchased your birthplace; not the house, for this is no more; but some of the ground on which your home stood.

"We are going to give you this property to do with as you will. The legal deed is here in my hand. We all wanted to sign that deed—nearly 13,000 of us—for the gift comes from us all, from the newest baby in your business family up to your second self, Rodman Wanamaker. But the Registry Office said no; it would block the real estate business to record these names. So we have done the next thing—we have written our names in this Jubilee Book, which goes with the deed, bearing our congratulations and recording our love.

"Let me now read in this distinguished presence, speaking the words for each one who would like to speak them to you personally, the inscription in this Jubilee Book:

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To
Honorable John Wanamaker
this book
is
respectfully offered
by the
Thousands of Loyal Members
of his
Business Family
to mark
the
Fiftieth Anniversary
in the history of
The John Wanamaker Stores.

AN APPRECIATION

"To make men and women is an achievement even greater than to build up a business known around the world.

"In gratitude for the high example of courage, courtesy and principle, for the affectionate interest and the watchful care and sympathy which for half a century have marked your relations with your employees, we who have had the privilege of coöperating under your leadership for the realization of your ideals, subscribe our names in this Book of the Golden Jubilee to stand as an indelible record of our deep appreciation, our unswerving loyalty and wholehearted congratulations on the business-building, the store-building, and the man-building, that you have so memorably accomplished."

"And now," added the speaker, "on behalf of your great business family, now and forevermore one and indivisible, I hand you this Deed, and your Birthplace, and this Jubilee Book, forming the trinity of our Loyalty, our Honor and our Love that each one of us bears to you and to your dear son, Rodman, who so nobly and earnestly is helping you to carry the responsibilities that always come with great success and high honor."

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In accepting the gift, Wanamaker said: "I wish I could sit down beside you—each of you, boys and girls, men and women—in a little circle where you could hear me easily, and quietly tell you how you have made me feel tonight with all this wonderful demonstration.

"Sometimes you think that I have heavy burdens, but you see tonight how easy some of my work is. I had nothing to do but to push back my chair at my office table, come down in an elevator, escorted by a committee, and here I am, listening to the sound of the nightingale who has been singing your song—the song you must have had in your hearts as you prepared this wonderful surprise for me. Why, I had nothing to do but to come down and have a brick house given to me and be complimented. I had to look around to see if your orator wasn't speaking to some other man.

"I am glad, though, always to be linked with you. I believe in you. I have reason to believe in you, when so many of you occupying high positions in the house were boys and girls here away back in the years. I think to come downstairs and look into your faces and recall so many of you is sufficient reward. Your smiles, your congratulations, your happiness, are to me compensation for all the hard thinking, planning and carrying the flag which you in your goodness have reproduced in one form or another in a hundred different ways in this beautiful ceremony celebrating our anniversary.

"How can I thank you? To live with you and work with you, as we do live and work, meeting in the same house—I sometimes think we sleep in this house, at least when I walk through the store and some of you don't notice; we sleep

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on our feet, yet in your hearts I am sure that there is always a red rose of comfort to me.

"If it is true that one country boy could have the privilege and the opportunity to do all these things that have been spoken of here tonight, why not another boy?

"But I must not keep you. I want to thank you, every one, because every one of you, with your own hand, has done a gracious thing in writing your name in the book—nearly 13,000 of you. I thank you with a kind of thankfulness that you can't know unless somebody brings a great long train loaded with jewels and says to you that they are yours! These names, including the names of the good people from New York, I very greatly appreciate. It is one store, though a hundred miles apart, and you men and women carry the spirit that unites us and makes our work equal to our opportunity.

"It is a very interesting thing that a journey should be made from Paris to represent our office there and another journey from London representing our office there, coming on the *Mauretania* night before last and going back soon, come just to hear you and see you and to get new life for the work that is going on on the other side of the world.

"I want to say to you how much I feel the kindly thought of searching out of the little old farm where a small house existed years ago and thinking that I would like to have it. I am glad it wasn't a great mansion, like Mr. Cooke's at Ogontz, because it would have cost you so much you couldn't have all had a part in it. I am told that you have made this property so valuable that I don't know what the Tax Office will do when they come to assess it—I think it

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might give me serious trouble if they were to put as much value on it as I do! It is a very little house that covers the place, but it was a very little place in which I was born and I was a very little person and didn't need a large house. It was a part of the old farm of some of my mother's kindred—the Deshong family. Part of it was the United States Arsenal, which I think my people gave to the government, if I have the history of it right.”

Wanamaker then presented three flags, significant of the occasion—the new Store Flag, the J. W. C. I. Flag, and the University Flag.

The first of these was presented to George W. Stull, the oldest employee of the Wanamaker Store, who received it on behalf of all the employees. It showed a star, a square, and a sheep on a crest, and bore the motto which Wanamaker had announced a few weeks before as the store slogan for 1912—“Heroic and Faithful Business Endeavor—1912.” Presenting the flag, the Founder said:

“This Golden Jubilee Flag is presented tonight to our store family through you, George W. Stull, the oldest employee now in active service, as a memorial of the early days of 1861, to which it dates back. The Star stands for the brightness of our hope. The Square indicates the method of dealing true and fair; we have been for the square deal for fifty years. And the Sheep represents the fact that from the beginning we advocated and adhered to all-wool fabrics for clothing. ‘All wool’ was our war cry. This flag is to remind you of the good old principles which laid our foundations.”

Later in the evening the sheep pictured on the flag was

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made a reality when a live woolly lamb was presented to Wanamaker in recognition of the store's principle of all-wool. "Only a few days ago, Mr. Wanamaker, you told me in your private office," said the spokesman, "that your first business card at Sixth and Market where you sold men's clothing contained this sentence: 'nothing will be sold that is not all-wool.'"

"On the day your business opened, in 1861, a friend came into your store and saw this card lying on your desk. He read it and then remarked: 'Why, you don't mean that.' You replied, 'Yes, that is exactly what I mean.' Your friend insisted, 'No, you surely don't mean that,' and then you told me how you read the sentence again, thinking perhaps you had made a mistake in grammar—and that your friend said, 'You can never stick to all-wool.' Then and there you replied, 'I WILL stick to all-wool'—and, although it was a hard fight during the war when wool went higher and higher, you *did* stick to all-wool—you *have* stuck to all-wool—and I believe you will *always* stick to all-wool in your men's clothing."

It was a long night, this Jubilee of the Store Family, and Wanamaker made eight speeches—separately to groups of his store family gathered at various places, talking to each group in "their own language," using illustrations that they could understand.

To the "gentlemen of the press," the only outside guests invited, he stated that he had joined their craft when "I was 18 years old and published a small paper called *Everybody's Journal*, and entered the newspaper life again as an advertiser, keeping steadily in the ranks of those who do literary

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work for nothing and pay a large amount of money to the newspapers to keep their presses going to carry to the public my store statements. But the Columbus monument I am to have, if I ever have any, will be for the discovery that the advertising of instant value is in the newspaper of known circulation. All others are vanity and vexation of spirit. To have learned this fact has greatly helped my enterprises, though often there has been serious discomfort in saying so publicly and in breaking away from posters, leaflets and weeklies."

To the Cadets, Cash Boys, Inspectors and Tea Room employees, he said:

"I am glad to meet those of you in the ranks of the younger life of this establishment. There is something very beautiful in the sight on Memorial Day, when the various Posts of the Grand Army of the Republic march through our streets. In the front ranks, and very appropriately there, march the veterans of many battles, who have won distinction and renown in fighting for their country. Then immediately following come the Sons of Veterans, who are to take the place of fathers who have so nobly fulfilled their destiny. In this great business there are veterans and sons of veterans.

"I am so glad that in many instances the sons are following in their fathers' footsteps, and that the traditions of this Store for faithful service and honest dealings will be handed down from father to son, from the head of the business to its most humble worker.

"Faithfulness, loyalty and thoroughness are three words

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which we can all understand, and understanding them practice them from the greatest unto the least.

"It is true that the exterior of this great building may remain practically unchanged for a century or more, but if this Store is to fulfill its highest destiny it must always be changing in the conduct of the business."

To the Mechanical Corps and all of the employees of the Delivery, Housekeeping, Stables and Garage, and Factories, and the Night Watch, he said:

"The founder of this business has frequently been pictured in magazines and other publications as delivering packages at the home of customers in a wheelbarrow way back in the sixties. If necessary, I would deliver my packages in a wheelbarrow or an express wagon, only I would get them there. But today the swift and silent automobile delivery wagons deliver the goods quickly to our customers' doors. The contrast between the wheelbarrow and the automobile is no greater than the contrast in the ways of doing business in 1861 and 1911. The contrasts in the next twenty-five or fifty years will be even greater, and the man who sticks to his wheelbarrow instead of using the automobile of improved and better methods will make about the same progress in comparison as would a wheelbarrow and an automobile in coming out Market Street."

To the Salespeople and General Service Staffs he said:

"Dear me, what a splendid thing it would be if the young men would throw themselves into the enjoyment of their business careers with the same enthusiasm that they enter

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and train for athletic contests. I have not a word to say against athletic and manly sports of all kinds, if you don't overdo it, but I read and hear of young men who train for running contests and Marathons and other games who consider no hardship too severe, if it but aid them to get in condition to win the prize. How much more important it is to each one of you that you win the prize in the business in which you earn your livelihood, when your whole future depends upon the efforts that you put forth!

"During the last week or two, according to the newspapers, two baseball teams representing New York and Philadelphia have been struggling for the world's championship. You may have heard something about it. I do not play baseball, but there are some things about the game that appeal to me. I am told that there is nothing done on a more scientific scale than the way leading ball teams play the game. Every inch of the ground is studied and covered. Every man knows exactly what to do under the constantly changing conditions. Every weakness is studied and every element of strength provided against the opposing side. One of the least important rules is that every player must keep himself in perfect physical condition. I say least important, because nothing else is expected or tolerated. There is little lost motion, because the players study to achieve results without expending unnecessary energy, every ounce of which is needed as the game proceeds. The players work together—there must be perfect team work, and yet every man stands on his own merits.

"Why don't you young men study to do your work in the same scientific and efficient manner, in order to get the

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greatest results for the House and for yourselves? The complaints that we receive—our error column—what a number there are! Yet ball teams, many of them, can go through a whole game without one man making an error. Why can't we do the same thing? We could if we would put our minds and our bodies right down to it.

"The hits represent the number of sales you make. Sometimes it is only a little hit, and other times it is a home run, like that made by Mr. Baker, the Quaker, but remember, every hit counts. The amount of your sales—this might represent the final score. Be sure it is a clean score.

"The man who tries to spike another man in the business should be put out. Play the game cleanly and squarely, and let me tell you that if you will get yourselves to look at it in the right way, there is no comparison between the game of baseball and the world-wide game of business, in which the rewards are infinitely greater to yourselves."

Wanamaker delivered his main Jubilee message to as many of the store family as could crowd into Egyptian Hall.

"There are few persons here tonight," he began, "who were alive fifty years ago. Only a small number of our company were here in 1876, thirty-five years ago, when we unbolted the doors of the Grand Depot that first morning on the eve of the Centennial. The new age of electricity began with the Centennial. There were in the 1876 Exhibition two electric exhibits. The electric exhibits now going on upon our eighth floor surpass the Centennial exhibits. Edison's incandescent lamps were shown three years later.

"Alexander Graham Bell patented the telephone in 1876..

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At the same time the rear driving safety bicycle came along.

"In 1877 Edison launched his phonograph.

"In 1879 the first working electric railway of full size was constructed.

"The general development of the automobile began in 1894.

"In 1894 Edison brought out the kinetoscope.

"In 1896 Marconi produced the first wireless telegraph effective at long distances.

"In 1896 New York, by annexing to Philadelphia the famous A. T. Stewart foundations, gave us the sum total of 77 acres of salesrooms.

"The conquest of the air dates back only three or four years.

"Franklin first discovered the electric currents that now light our streets, run our street cars and our delivery wagons. Today men talk across continents and drive vehicles in the air; and the dead continue to talk and sing to us in living tones, their voices having been stored up in the phonograph in their life-times.

"Was there ever before another half century that did so much for the world as this one from 1861 to 1911?

"We may be pardoned for localizing on this occasion the part this business has had in the glory of the half century's achievements. We made a new system of mercantile business that changed and moved up the standards throughout America, and which is slowly Americanizing England, Germany and the old world. It was here in the Grand Depot that the first electric light was introduced to light an entire store.

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It was on this ground that pneumatic tubes were first put into use in any commercial building as carriers of cash, and your chief was the first to introduce them into the Postal Service. The first passenger automobile was imported here from France and the Fairmount Park Commissioners refused permission for it to have a trial trip in Fairmount Park.

"The old sheds where mules were the motive power in drawing freight cars are displaced, and here tonight we stand together in the first retail commercial house in the world, with 45 acres of floor space all in use in transaction of our daily work. It is the first mercantile house constructed with smokeproof brick walls, stone steps, iron staircases and concrete-floored fire towers from roof to basement. On every floor these four towers are approachable in two minutes from any direction, giving safe exit to the public and to the people employed.

"It may be fairly believed that any city in the world would consider it a great gift to have a building like this. It is a building that can never grow old or out of fashion. Its simple straight lines and majestic columns are classic and the eye never tires in resting upon them. Many cultured citizens visiting from other cities have said that there is educational power in studying and living in such a building. Its tremendous strength, convenient equipments, sanitary and ventilating appliances—the boilers and electrical machinery being located in a special power-house on Ludlow Street—and a thoroughly fireproof construction throughout as perfect as attainable, all these remove danger of fire and explosion.

"But I must ask you if you are satisfied to realize a dream

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and content yourself by sitting down in it. My old friend, Phillips Brooks, once said—'Mean to be something—with all your might.' We are here from this time on in an amphitheatre with a world of spectators looking on to watch our performances of duty, and we shall need to keep our tools in constant repair to do the best work. It is not our neighbor's business we need to think of. We must look to ourselves and make good. I myself—your leader for the time—must make good, and you yourselves—at whatever cost—must make good on the day and on the hour and in the place you hold.

"As I grow older it becomes clearer to me that the difference between men who accomplish things and those who fail to accomplish things is in correct thinking, energy and invincible determination. A single aim and a strong spirit, undistracted and untiring, seldom fall short of the goal. Work is the master key to all the doors and opportunities. The man who never quits until the work is done inevitably writes his name on the roll of winners."

Public tributes of the Golden Jubilee year began with a luncheon tendered to Wanamaker on November 16, 1911, in New York City, "as a tribute of the high esteem in which he is held by his fellow merchants of the United States."

At this function he made a plea for the inauguration of a Fraternity of Merchants, for a reduction of telegraph and cable tolls and express charges, for the early establishment of a parcel post system (which now soon came), for a republic of business free from onerous governmental regulation, and for a reduction in the high cost of living which he was

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soon to bring about largely through his own bold initiative. He spoke in part as follows:

"Fifty years steadily in business life seems like a long time to be in one place working out one purpose. To a man of my age * fifty years does not seem to be as much as it did when I was twenty-two, beginning to save a part of the first of my own earnings that I was able to put aside. But there are trees in California, in the Yosemite, said to be two thousand years old; fish in the sea said to be five hundred years old; turtles now and then picked up in the forests that have had their backs scraped with an age of one and two hundred years. One ought to leave some kind of mark with fifty years to make it.

"To love to work and to have fifty years in active business is a great privilege. I would be glad to be called as a witness in this high court that the merchant's life, with its necessity for study, for hard, straight thinking, for knowledge of the world and apprenticeship in the questions of tariff and of finance, is a wonderful education; and that it takes wonderful self-denial and long hours of toil to become equipped to be a good citizen. I am willing to confess to you that I have endeavored to make a boy's dream a tangible reality, and with unconquerable purpose I have steadily followed the North Star that I saw in the sky from the beginning, keeping it ahead of me always, and taking every kind of encouragement as simply the starting point for some other achievement.

"There are no locks on the doors of wisdom, knowledge, honest enterprise and the opportunities on every side. Where-

*He was then 73 years old.

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ever a man's lot is cast, or whoever he may be, capitalist or capital-less, knocking steadily and persistently at these doors will surely open at least one of them to success.

"I am proud of each of the two cities in which I find so much pleasure and labor. The old city of the Declaration of Independence is taking on a new life. New York, the gateway to America, is, in many respects, the most wonderful city in the world and hardly any of us can tell what its greatness will be.

"In speaking to you today, I hail you as citizens of the United States, and, sinking personalities, I take the liberty of stepping out of the narrow circle of one city and one business. Standing here together in good-fellowship, hailing each other as citizens of the world's greatest nation—proud of its history and its present position among the nations, its growth and its prosperity—as laborers for its success and pledged to its further development, may it not be possible for us to throw into the stream of business life a golden anniversary pebble that will make an everlasting circle until it ripples over the entire continent?

"Greater than any line of railroads from the Atlantic Coast to the Golden Gate, greater than any fleet of ocean greyhounds, is the body of commercial men scattered all over the United States, of which body you and I are units. These are they who initiate and maintain, by manufacture and distribution, the business which makes the life and prosperity of the Nation. But for the commerce of the land the bankers could not use their money, nor could the railroads be supported by freights and travelers. We are at the very heart of the prosperity of this country.

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"Commerce is not a speculation; it is the very life blood that pulsates through every fibre of a healthy body politic. What will it matter what Wall Street does, or what the great Steel, Tobacco or Oil trusts do, if the commerce of the country is kept on an even keel?

"To be so busy, each of us in our exclusive corner, and to be unmindful of the things that underlie the foundations which safeguard the steady and successful condition of commercial life, is to have no one to blame but ourselves for halting, sluggish, uncertain and unprofitable trade. Business is a science, and it requires thorough knowledge, scientific treatment and far-seeing vision on the part of the efficient, unselfish, broad and patriotic men who love their country and who are capable of steering affairs, to avoid striking the treacherous rocks of falsehood, panic and the depressing years which grow out of other conditions than famine, fire and floods.

"It is known that certain organized societies and religious bodies, in this and other countries, concentrate occasionally and project their power for or against public measures, legislation and even candidates for office. Why is it not wise and noble for the Honorable Merchants of the United States to be united in a fraternity, non-political and non-sectarian, independent of race, creed or color, for the safeguarding and guiding of business conditions, to make possible the steady continuance of good times and employments for the people by checking sensationalisms? In the business of the country it seems to me that the merchant has a far wider reach of contact with men and affairs. It is not a life in a little court of honor to the men who know the law and execute it. It

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is the greatest of the stars of the old British Empire—the respect for law and the assurance of its prompt and not tardy administration.

“Is there anything more practical than the establishment in the Government, or outside of it, of a Supreme Bench of qualified business men—not lawyers (with all honor to these distinguished gentlemen, one of the greatest of them all in the chair of the Chief Executive of this country, magnificent in his honesty and in his clear head)—not doctors, nor men of other professions; but plain, trusted, experienced business men—as a Court of Authority, with a million of votes behind it, and important enough to command the attention of Presidents, Congressmen and Senators, few of whom know the actualities or the realities of the tariff or the changing trend of commercial or financial questions?

“By getting advance intelligent informations, giving discreet and patient counsel and assistance to our public officials, and forecasting perils to business so as to prevent them, by their knowledge and labors, they could aid in formulating legislation and movements; they could watch and prevent, by publicity and otherwise, the selfish efforts of schemers to gain dishonest profit by dishonest combinations and misstatements, for gambling purposes, precipitating such general and country-wide depression as affects all business interests.”

The principles of the Fraternity of Merchants, which Wanamaker proposed and the objects that he thought might be accomplished, he stated as follows:

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"First. To embrace, among other things, a study of the causes of the high cost of commodities and to suggest means of reducing the various forms of taxation that add to the cost of doing business, and therefore to the cost of goods.

"Second. To reduce the tariff to a point to revive the dying spirit of inventors, designers and workmen of American enterprise, whom the high manufacturers' tariff has hindered.

"Third. To support Municipal Research, as is being done in the City of New York, where taxes and rents of business places and homes are constantly increased by assessments and higher rates in so many instances unnecessary.

"Fourth. To support all efforts to eliminate graft and punish givers and takers of bribes in public office and in the mercantile world, of which we know a great deal.

"Fifth. To reduce the expenses of delivering goods, either by negotiating with the Railroad Companies to take over the Express Companies, or by favoring a Government Parcel Post.

"Sixth. To seek a reduction in Telegraph and Cable rates, or favor the Government's taking over the Telegraph and Cable Companies.

"Honorable sirs, it is a tremendous thing to live. Dying is next to nothing. Beasts and birds die. Living is everything. The universe is sensitive to the merest touch, and, therefore, it is possible to set wheels in motion that shall outrun the world. Experience, ideas, emotions persist from age to age, though shattered empires go down to death.

"Gentlemen, the heart always suffers when translated into speech. It is very fortunate for me that I wrote something beforehand of what I wanted you to hear and think about—to do straight thinking about. You have greatly enriched me in this beautiful hour that I can never forget, which makes it more and more clear that life is worth living, and that we all can do things that somebody will remember. In July we prepare for December. Let us, with forethought-

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fulness, begin on this very day of November to sagaciously bring out the PATRIOTIC MERCHANTS' RESERVES to the help of the President and all those associated with him in the handling of public affairs and in the preparation of legislation for the next Congress. How shall we do it? That is much more easily thought out than many of the problems that you and I have been battling with in the years that have gone over our heads."

It is interesting to observe that eighteen years later—almost to the day, on November 19, 1929—President Hoover initiated a series of conferences of the business interests of the country, for the purpose of stabilizing prosperity after the stock-market recession, and that the government now seeks the counsel and technical knowledge not only of merchants and manufacturers, as suggested by John Wanamaker in 1911, but of all the industries of the land, including agriculture.

CHAPTER XV

THE NATION'S HIGHEST HONOR TO A MERCHANT

WHAT was considered at the time to be the climax of John Wanamaker's life was the dedication on December 30, 1911, of his new Philadelphia store building by the President of the United States, William Howard Taft. "It is his monument," people said. "A house of business, a private enterprise, dedicated by the Chief Magistrate of the country! Can any merchant rise higher than that?"

To Wanamaker, however, the occasion was only a passing milestone. He was 73 years old. But his life or his work had by no means come to an end. The new building was not his monument. He was very much alive, and there were still greater things to do. But the dedication seemed to be the fulfillment of his life's work.

"Surely no store was ever dedicated in so impressive a manner," said the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* in an editorial: "It may be in keeping to say that few buildings or monuments have ever received such a baptism. In the presence of 30,000 persons, and under circumstances that will mark the incident as a bit of history of Philadelphia, President Taft pronounced the dedicating words and delivered an address that aroused that great throng to storm after storm of cheers."

"The most notable tribute that was ever paid to any pri-

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vate business," commented the Philadelphia *North American*, "was that offered to John Wanamaker and to the great mercantile enterprise which he created. On rare occasions in the history of the country the President of the United States has lent the prestige and dignity of his great office to honor some business of a public character—the opening of a transcontinental railway which was to add an empire to the domain of the republic, a vast exposition to celebrate some towering historical event, or some event of a similarly public character. But probably never before has the head of this or any other nation had occasion to honor so signally a business man, who, howsoever public have been the benefits his business bestowed, is still a simple, private merchant; an advanced exponent of the old-fashioned idea of private ownership of business regulated by the natural laws of competition."

"Yesterday's dedication was the final and crowning event of Mr. Wanamaker's jubilee year," the Philadelphia *Record* said. "For a whole twelvemonth his big establishment, occupying a whole city block and facing the City Hall, has been the scene of one continuous celebration. When the year began the store was still far from completion. But it was Mr. Wanamaker's idea that the structure should be finished before his fiftieth year in business should end. So work was rushed, and the opening of each section from time to time during the year was made a special event; then, as the year drew to a close, the building was finally completed in all its details and ready for dedication. It was decided to hold this event on the last business day of the year. But the Wanamaker Store did no business yesterday. It was closed to all

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buyers and open only to those, of whom there were more than thirty thousand, bearing cards of admission for the exercises. Long before the President reached the store great crowds had assembled. Had there been space enough inside, at least 75,000 persons would have greeted the President. Crowds stood outside the doors of the store, vainly hoping for admission, but only those bearing invitations were permitted to enter. Inside the store there was one densely-packed mass of humanity. The Grand Court in the middle was cleared of all its merchandise counters, and a broad space was left open, in which about fifteen thousand men and women were standing. The Court reaches up through six floors of the building, and upon each of the six balconies were other crowds looking down upon the throng below."

"The scene that presented itself to the special guests as they came upon the platform was a remarkable one," said *The Evening Bulletin*. "In the very heart of the great store counters and show cases—everything indicative of the daily business transacted there—had been cleared away, and in their places stood thousands of people. The great marble Grand Court, with the gray light of the day filtering through an immense skylight, was filled not only from end to end, but the crowds extended on and on, almost to the outer walls of the store itself. And above, tier upon tier where the upper floors open in balconies upon this Court, people stood five and six deep, hoping to get a glimpse of the President and the other dignitaries, and to hear some of the speeches. Back and beyond these, other balconies and galleries held still more people. Here and there was a splash of color made by the brilliant uniforms of officers of the

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Army and of the National Guard of Pennsylvania. Along the railing of the first-floor balcony, immediately under the broad spread of the great organ, was the Wanamaker Chorus, which furnished music for the exercises. And all about, on every side and hemming in this brilliant array, in close-packed ranks, stood the guests by thousands."

"Only a vivid imagination can picture the sight," the *Public Ledger* said. "The very presence of Mr. Taft served to fill the vast audience with enthusiasm. But there seemed to be a power more potent than a mere presence of one man—great as he may be—in the atmosphere of the occasion. Only by being there could one appreciate the magnificence of the ceremonies. The great organ, thundering forth the wonderful clarion notes of Rhadames' Triumphal March from 'Aïda' and the Coronation March from 'Le Prophète,' and the two bands—the First Regiment and the John Wanamaker Commercial Institute—consolidated to form a glorious prelude to the order of the day."

Merchants and prominent citizens from many parts of the country attended the ceremonies. New York, particularly, sent a large delegation, including the chief executives of the New York Wanamaker store. But as that store was not closed, and the store family in that city remained at their posts to serve the public, long-distance telephones with amplifiers were installed directly in front of the speakers' desk, so that the entire Wanamaker organization in both cities might hear the proceedings.

President Taft was introduced to the vast assemblage by Rudolph Blankenburg, Mayor of Philadelphia, who said:

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"To have the foremost citizen of the land as the guest of honor on this auspicious occasion is an honor, indeed, which is fully appreciated, not only by the Founder, but by the whole citizenship of Philadelphia. He represents today one hundred million people, and through him one hundred million people will be advised of the esteem in which one of this vast number, one of our own citizens, is held by the occupant of the highest office in any land."

President Taft spoke as follows:

"It is now twenty years ago since I had the pleasure of joining the administration of Benjamin Harrison at Washington and there becoming acquainted, as an humble associate in that administration, with John Wanamaker of Philadelphia, then Postmaster-General. It has been a great pleasure to me to know and to feel that the friendship and mutual respect there begun have continued until the present day, and it has given me the greatest pleasure to come here and take part in this ceremony at the moment of the greatest triumph of John Wanamaker's long and useful life.

"We are here to celebrate the completion, in its highest type, of one of the most important instrumentalities in modern life for the promotion of comfort among the people. The department store—which brings under one roof the opportunity to purchase, at the lowest reasonable, constant and fixed price, everything that is usually needed upon the person or in the household for the sustaining of life, for recreation and for intellectual enjoyment (except food alone)—means a reduction in the cost of living and necessary effort that we do not always appreciate.

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"It has been given to Mr. Wanamaker, the Founder of this great institution, to begin the formation of this new instrumentality for the betterment of the condition of men, and to pursue the work of its improvement for fifty years, until now the end crowns his labor. The introduction into the conduct of his business of rigid rules as to the fixedness of the price; accuracy of representation as to the quality; the conveniences accorded to all in the return of unsatisfactory goods; and the delivery without cost, or at a reasonable cost according to the distance, of the goods to the home of the purchaser; together with such economical arrangement in sales as to reduce to a minimum the effort necessary to examine the goods to be purchased; the concentration and coöperation of the different branches of the business to reduce expense and increase efficiency; all call for an executive genius that hardly finds its counterpart.

"With no adventitious aid, with no combinations in restraint of competition, but simply by a natural growth and aggregation of means to an end, this great business was built up here in Philadelphia, and there in New York, to form a model for all other stores of the same kind throughout the country and throughout the world. Growing, as it has, out of the traditions of a fifty years' life of business, it seems to have acquired its own personality, different even from that of the Founder, so that he finds himself bound by the very rules he created and the traditions that have worked to eminent success.

"On this day, when we can look back half a century to the humble beginnings of this enormous business machine with its thirteen thousand employees and its millions of con-

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stant customers, it is right that there should be a ceremony dedicatory and congratulatory, to show the appreciation that the country at large has for the successful creation of an aid to the happiness of the people that is substantial and permanent.

"The feature which Mr. Wanamaker has introduced in his stores of an educational system, in which his working employees can add to their intellectual attainment and increase their efficiency in the discharge of their duties, is the most noteworthy feature of his whole system; and the retirement plan, by which he takes care of those who become superannuated in his service, and offers to those who look forward to the future a comfortable old age, shows the long foresight that he has exhibited in all his business, whereby human nature, both in the people at large and in his own employees, responds in full measure to the justice and generosity that he metes out to them, by the patronage that his customers give, and by the faithful, enthusiastic and most effective service which his employees render.

"I congratulate Mr. Wanamaker that he has been spared in his long and active life until this moment, and that he can look around and see, in all its inspiring whole, this enduring monument to the clear-sightedness and genius of his business career."

At the close of his formal address, the President looked about the great marble Court of Honor, with its tier on tier of humanity rising to the roof, and with a sweep of his hand he expressed his admiration and wonder:

"As I came in the carriage with Mr. Wanamaker, I said to him: 'I have a few words here to say—not more than five

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hundred or a thousand.' He said: 'It doesn't make any difference how many you have got down—you will have to say a good many more when you get there!' And it is true. No one can stand here in this magnificent structure without being awe-inspired, and without thinking that it is inspired in this: that it has been worked out in the brain of the greatest architect in America in order to develop the genius and show the magnificent work of the greatest merchant in America. I have been asked to direct the words of a tablet to be erected in this marble chamber"—and the President then read the following words inscribed on the Dedicatory Tablet to be placed in the Grand Court:

IN THIS MARBLE COURT
WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT
PRESIDENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES
ON THE 30th OF DECEMBER, 1911
AT THE CLOSE OF
THE GOLDEN JUBILEE YEAR
IN THE PRESENCE OF
THIRTY THOUSAND CITIZENS
DEDICATED THIS BUILDING
A LANDMARK OF LABOR
AND A SIGNATURE IN STONE
TO THE POWER OF
CONCENTRATION AND CO-OPERATION
IN MERCANTILE PURSUITS
UNDER FREEDOM OF COMPETITION
AND THE BLESSING
OF GOD

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Governor John K. Tener, of Pennsylvania; Rudolph Blankenburg, Mayor of Philadelphia; and Daniel H. Burnham, architect of the new building, made short addresses, the latter handing the key of the new store to Wanamaker, who then spoke as follows:

"This is a great day for Philadelphia. I have drawn a prize, and I shall share it with you. This is a great deal more than my house. If it were only that, with all the friendship and admiration that the President knows I have for him, I think he would not have been here. It is because we are in a house that belongs to the public, from many points of view. You see I am very much embarrassed—there is no one who can make the speech to Mr. Burnham that I would like to whisper in his ear! But to you I will say, that six years ago there was only one man in the world who knew what was coming out of a great hole in Maine with the granite blocks, and that is the man who has just spoken to you, who saw every stone and knew exactly where it was to go, how each stone was the key to another stone to lock together this great building in which you and I are standing today—D. H. Burnham. He is a very modest man, but I think he never had from his boyhood a small idea in his head. It was his master mind and a little pencil that made the plans; he read them like an ABC book to me, that I might understand them. His beautiful face—we are both old men, and I can say that to him—seems to be full of Heaven's brightness and kindness—of a work well done that carries the lustre of his faithfulness like the shine of this golden key that he has put in my hands. There is the glory

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of triumph—if not in his face, then in his step to the front, showing what every man can do.

“This little apparatus in front of me gives me the opportunity to speak to the New York Store, where there are as many people employed as there are here. We shall have to get up early in the mornings or New York will surpass the success of the old Philadelphia Store! Look out for yourselves and not for me!

“Listen, you New Yorkers (speaking toward the telephone apparatus): It is an incident of the aeroplane age that a building in Philadelphia and another in New York, one hundred miles apart, may unite by a scientific arrangement, so that a voice speaking in Philadelphia to thirty thousand people there assembled is heard by the staff of assistants in the New York Store one hundred miles away. Let all of the many thousands of people in our employ always remember that Wanamaker’s is one and indivisible, concentrating all its force on every part of our work in both cities. Be sure you get that!

“Citizens of Philadelphia, Friends and Countrymen—because so many of you have come long distances—if you only knew what I wanted to say to you, and yet how anxious I am that you should have what you want most—the President standing in front of you and giving you his address!—I shall only take a few threads of what I want you to see printed and what I want to have you think about.

“The President of the United States, without a single word of conference from first to last with me personally on the subject of his visit today, in the greatness of his heart signals our friendship of twenty years and adds to the impor-

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tance of this occasion by his presence here. He bestows upon merchants and business men the country over the highest and most valued compliments of the season in the magnificence of his kingly courtesy to business endeavor. His coming stopped off all business here last night that this occasion might have its place apart from traffic and be made a Presidential holiday for over six thousand assistants.

"The City of Philadelphia, through the officials of the municipality; the members of the Select and Common Councils, the Governor of our Commonwealth and members of the Legislature, and tens of thousands of citizens of Philadelphia here assembled, thank you, Mr. President, for conferring upon us all the transcending honor of your distinguished consideration. The members of the Diplomatic Corps, the members of the President's Cabinet, United States Senators and Representatives, the special trainload of distinguished merchants and manufacturers from Chicago, and the many leading business men of New York, the publishers and members of the press unite with His Excellency the President of the United States, in nationalizing to some degree an event pregnant with interest at this particular moment to the business and educational fraternities of America.

"This is not a day of traffic. It is a day of reminiscence; it is a day of hope; it is a day of inspiration! It is a day when wise men have come from Chicago, from the west, come to see the star of this new school of business.

"Primarily, the event that calls us together centers upon a building, and that building owes its existence to something. The bare trees on the hillside without a leaf on them will

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soon be covered with foliage, and every leaf must drink its sustenance from the roots. What is the root of all that has grown here? Think about it today.

"The old conditions and the new ideas that produced it justify this unusual and august celebration. There are those who cannot understand that a building is often much more than four walls and a roof. They cannot read the poetry of its exterior nor the ideality of its interior. They miss the expression of its unity and the enthronement of its purpose.

"The great buildings of the world are wonderfully interesting. The Colosseum of Rome, with its seating capacity for one hundred thousand, is but an empty shell. Not so Peter Cooper's Institute building in New York; not so the old Quaker merchant's Free Schools for Mechanical Trades,* and the Carnegie Institute, and Girard College. The world has received from those three old business people who are not here, and from that good old ironmaster who is still living, a wonderful help in shaping the destinies of those who are going through their courses of study.

"The far-seeing and wise President of the United States, controller and regulator not of one section alone nor of one class of people, a student of law and economics, as well as of the arts and the sciences, with malice toward none, and fairness, justice and charity for all, comprehends the situation of business affairs in our country in its units as well as in its syndicates. After giving much time and thought to the arguments and the demands of capital seeking for incorporation under new conditions and for new interpretations of existing laws, he turns away from them all and comes to us

*Founded by Isaiah V. Williamson.

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today—humble people, operating along the lines of the old systems before we had Trusts—to study the merits of another side of business, uncaptialized in corporate ways except for the sake of the perpetuity that keeps continuous the investments and the labors of the people employed in it.

“There is something here, Mr. President, out of the common, which may fairly claim the consideration of the Chief Executive of the Nation that stands first among the business nations of the world. We would not have dared to let you come here today if it had been mixed up at all with business—except as a system, except that there is in it much more than the fact of the buying and selling of goods.

“This historic city is famous for its legal schools and its medical schools. I ask you, Sir, to forget the mere transactions of trade that occur within these walls, and to regard your visit here today as to a new School of Business, that has, as has already been said, in many respects revolutionized commerce. We are saying what John Paul Jones said when commanded by a great English Admiral to surrender his ship: ‘I have just begun to fight!’

“What the old Quaker Williamson School does for mechanics in its education by something similar to the old apprenticeship system, this school of business does for the rising generation who are being trained to a new order of methods and measures of commercial life.

“It teaches men and women who have joined its classes to know geography from a new point of view—not alone to tell capitals of States and boundaries of lakes, but also where and how the best products of the world are made; and to know how to help you, Sir, and the Senators, to open a greater

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outlet for American goods, and by reciprocity to do a larger business for the United States. We are for America all the time!

"By scientific analysis and laboratory work they learn to label articles what they really are. To train men and women to earn better wages by developing intelligence that will make them love to be in the ranks of labor and in employments that accord them honorable recognition in the world,—this puts every work upon a basis of rising in the world through promotions, solely upon a civil-service competition along lines less theoretical than practical.

"The best prosperity of America is the sight of active smokestacks in operation on every hillside, and the music of the hammers of the workshops in the valleys, and the singing of looms and lathes in the cities and towns.

"Mr. President, this House today stands, first of all:

"For the Labor that created it.

"For full and plenty Labor as the basis of property and prosperity.

"For Free Labor for all men who are willing to work.

"For Labor doubled in value to the world by education and enthusiasm of application."

Referring to the unsettled condition of the country at the time, business suffering from lack of confidence, Wanamaker said:

"The regular businesses of the old-fashioned type where labor is the essence of prosperity, founded upon sound economic principles—such businesses as are constructive and co-operative—these are suffering today. The brakes of consti-

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tutional expediency are slowly bringing the train of expansion to a standstill. The long temporizing with business standards and the mathematical and microscopic surveys of existing laws to find ways to defend practices now existing, and to defeat the real meaning of the laws, are hurtful to good times in the highest degree. For this to exist, when no failure of crops and no actual storm signals of panic appear in the business sky, settles a great hardship upon millions of innocent people whose businesses are tied hand and foot.

"Every factor essential to a great forward industrial movement is at this time present save one: The confidence of business men in one another. That is all there is! Oh, it seems such a pity for the man at the helm, anxious for the prosperity of the country, to have to stop and pick the little flies off the wheel, when so many people need to go on with the things that are waiting for a return of confidence. The uncertainty that came in eighteen months ago is still here. It sits down in almost every counting-room and office. It has turned confidence out of doors. Large and safe movements of big constructive business have halted. Such business still hesitates and will hesitate until the potential forces stop that are endeavoring to substitute a new faith and practice of business in place of the tried principles.

"Mr. President, I appeal to you today. I cannot talk about this building, I cannot talk about myself—I simply have to talk about business conditions. While the clamor goes on it breaks the spirit and discourages the honest, small, unincorporated works of commercial operations that have for so long been our bulwark. To attempt to tire these good people

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out by temporizing when they have suffered long and much is almost a crime. In the kindest, plainest, poor fashion of a layman, and not a lawyer, I appeal to you, Mr. President, to stand for the old, well-tried principles that are right and eternal, with all your might and power—and let us not only regain and retain but immensely multiply our old prosperities.

“There is a widespread belief that all this country needs to assure its progress is a simple and definite code of constitutional business justice and morality. It is, I believe, an incontrovertible truth that the future power, stability and reputation of our country can only be measured by wealth and high character combined. Wealth alone is not enough; honest industry and persistent labor must also play a large part in the future, as in the way-back past. Wealth can no more be safely created and permanently held by the mere shuffling of securities, than character can be created by shuffling cards.

“In actuality, with high taxation and advanced prices on almost everything, the last three years have been in the main to professional people, business people, and all other people outside of the trusts, empty bottles with large labels of hope and expectations upon each side of them; and this despite the richness and abundance of the soil, the absence of floods and disaster, and the splendid health of the people. The cause is easy to find, and once removed we shall have the greatest prosperity of any nation under the sun!

“If from this school of progress, where thirty thousand people are, we could speak in thunder tones to the whole people, I would appeal:

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"For the recall of old-fashioned truth-telling in public print, editorially, locally, and advertisingly, because the constant and almost unconscious filtration of poison into the body politic and physical is a blood-poisoning that is at least devitalizing.

"For the recall of respect for law and for its prompt and summary administration for poor and rich alike, like unto such practice as exists in the British nation.

"For the recall of decent respect for rulers called and elected to rule by the voice of the people, which is the voice of God.

"For the recall to common sense of the learned and unlearned noisy agitators who crowd the sky with vagaries and visions and keep the torchlight on the scaffoldings of builders of prosperity.

"Mr. President, I pass on to you the key to this solid, simple, strong, straightforward building with its foundation of business ethics, its roof of hope and its wide-open doors of four-sided opportunity. You are the Commander of the Army and Navy of the United States. You are not only the head of the administrative work of the Nation, but you are looked to also as the head of the business world of the United States, and I pass this key to you that with your wisdom you may unlock any good that there is here, in any way you see fit, for the general good of mankind."

Dedication day was a wonderful day for Philadelphia and for John Wanamaker as well, as he was lifted by public acclaim to the very top of the mountain of praise. He took it all both humbly and proudly.

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The day began early with a dedication breakfast at which Wanamaker wore for the first time the decoration of an Officer of the Legion of Honor which had just been conferred upon him by the government of France, saying: "It is because we stand together for the business of America, you and I, that I would like to put on this decoration for the first time."

In impromptu remarks, James McCrea, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, referred to the "example he (Wanamaker) has given the business world in making a success of a complete organization which has been copied all over the United States. This building, with the work that goes on in it, is the full example that we have of the power of what that work of organization, headed by intelligent effort, can accomplish. And I want to congratulate Mr. Wanamaker on that phase of the very many good things which he has accomplished in the fifty years of his career."

George F. Baer, president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, said "there never was a time since I began my acquaintance with Philadelphia that I did not know of Mr. Wanamaker, and I am glad to say that for the many, many years that I have known him, he has always been one of my steadfast friends. There is only one lesson that I wish to draw from this fiftieth Jubilee. We live in an age which is peculiarly tending toward socialism in all its ugliest features, socialism based upon the old fallacy that all men are equal if they be given the same opportunity, a fallacy whose falsity is demonstrated here today. Fifty years ago there were thousands of people who had the same opportunity as our distinguished host. He was the architect of his own fortune.

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Thousands upon thousands saw opportunity pass by day after day without the ability or courage to seize it. This world's work is, and always must be, controlled and governed by a few superior men who have the courage to say in business and everywhere else what our honored President said, 'I will find a way or make it.' The citizens of Philadelphia glory in the success of our distinguished host. We appreciate with him this wonderful business, and we hope that laying aside all the cares of the past fifty years he may go forward into the many years that shall still be his, feeling that his life has been one great success."

N. Parker Shortridge referred to the fact that "Mr. Wanamaker and I are the only living members of the Centennial Board of Finance, and I think that the hard work that he did—and that some of the rest of us did—was responsible for the success of the Centennial. We went about this town pretty thoroughly, and we struck a good many hard places, but the money was finally raised."

And Edwin S. Stuart, former governor of Pennsylvania, said he wanted to add that the Board of Finance of the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876 promised to the National Congress that the money it borrowed would be returned—"and it was paid back, every cent of it," he stated with emphasis—"and that this amount, one million six hundred thousand dollars, *was* put back into the Treasury was due largely to members of the board of the character of Mr. Wanamaker and Mr. Shortridge."

CHAPTER XVI

TEN YEARS IN THE STORE EDITORIAL CHAIR

THERE was to be no climax in John Wanamaker's life. He was to go on working to the end, doing greater things each year.

In the decade between 1912 and 1922—between the ages of 74 and 84 years—he was still the pioneer working with even more prodigious and creative energy. During these ten years his record shows three outstanding accomplishments:

1. The writing of 5,000 business editorials, 4,000 of which appeared in his advertising—those “little pieces in the corner” he called them—in which he set down and summed up much of his philosophy of business and of life.
2. The upholding, at a time when it sorely needed upholding, of the spirit and patriotism of the American people during the World War.
3. The saving of his country from a serious after-the-war business panic by bringing about a gradual deflation through his initiative in reducing prices 20 per cent on the twenty million dollars of goods in his two stores, his leadership being followed by thousands of merchants in all parts of the United States.

Had John Wanamaker made no other contribution to the

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commercial, the patriotic and the spiritual progress of his generation, his writings in themselves would be an enduring monument. They are more than literature; they are life. They contain not only the principles and policies of just dealings of men among men. Not only the experiences of a life-time of labor and service as an inspiration and guidance to youth. But they have in them much of the homely virtues and wisdom of Poor Richard's writings, with an added spiritual influence. And they revived something of the old-time journalism of the days of Greeley, Dana and McClure—when newspapers had a personality.

Benjamin Franklin and John Wanamaker were not unlike in their writings. Both told simple truths in a homely, original form. Both wrote about the same thing—the business of living. Both taught and practiced thrift. Both were looked up to in their community and age as apostles of straight thinking and plain talking.

It was Rodman Wanamaker who inspired his father to write the 5,000 business editorials. "I had no idea what I was letting myself in for when I started them," John Wanamaker said. "I was at the Taft convention in Chicago in 1912, when the Roosevelt force made a raid on the Republican party. I sat steadily from morning till night, and sometimes far into the night. The warm weather and the strain very nearly knocked me to pieces, and I went back home to take a rest of a few days. It was the end of June before I went back to business, and in the meanwhile I was at home in my closed house at Philadelphia. My son, Rodman, came to me and said: 'We are going to have some great days ahead of us to make our business what it was in 1911. Here

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you are reading all the time and probably hurting your eyes. Why don't you do something else in the meanwhile?"

"It probably does hurt my eyes," I answered, "but what else shall I do?"

"Write some advertising," he told me.

"I've never written much advertising," I said. "I've only used the blue pencil on it a bit. I wouldn't know how or what to write."

"So I refused. But as he was going out of the room he looked so disappointed that I felt I had done a mean thing, and without imagining what I was coming in for I took up an old envelope, cut it open on three sides so that it unfolded completely and then started to write on the inside of it. It works very nicely. When I reached the bottom I found the envelope wasn't long enough, although an envelope ought to be long enough for what a man has to say. But I wanted to say more, so I took another envelope, and finally a third one. I sent them to my son, supposing I had seen the last of them because there didn't seem to be anything special in them. The next morning I saw them published!

"Yes, I think I was pleased to see them in the paper, but I was without the least idea of continuing. Yet what could I do? I was like the visitor at the farmhouse, who, passing a field, was chased by a bull because he wore a red necktie. To escape he caught the bull by the tail and held on, hollering for somebody to help him to let go.

"It is nine years and three months since I wrote that first fatal editorial. In that time I have certainly written 1,000 or more pieces that I tore up as not worth printing."

Not one of these "pieces" was written carelessly. "Not a

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line gets into these editorials," he said, "that the writer does not first take them to a looking glass and go over them, word by word, from time to time destroying hundreds of the little pieces, as not having enough worth to consume the time of kindly and friendly readers."

"The hardest thing," he said, "is to get something that would be worth keeping or remembering. I have a conscience about writing and taking people's time to read what I have written. But I certainly do write them all myself. My name never appears under anything that I haven't written."

Most of the editorials were written on the inside of an envelope slit on two ends, but sometimes on a little pad of faintly cross-barred paper which he carried in his pocket.

"Slitting the two ends of an old envelope and opening it up to be used for memorandum when no paper is at hand had been to many of us a useful boyhood habit and time-saver," he said. "Three-fourths of these daily introductions to the advertising of our store news have been written at odd moments as the spirit moves one when alone in a motor or steam car, or while waiting for people who never formed the habit of punctuality in engagements and who waste other people's time without taking note of it. Almost every one of us could get a full hour more out of every day if we did not dawdle and loiter."

Referring to these editorials, Wanamaker wrote in 1919:

"Seven years ago next September, the pencil which writes and signs this wrote, on the back of an envelope at the request of the writer's son, the first of these daily editorials. It seems as though clumsy fingers were the battery touching

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a telegraphic wire stretched through the window of every home and office in this city with a message of good will and patriotism, as well as a business notice when practicable. Often in the past four years of war, hundreds of pieces have been written purely as a citizen apart from any selfish interest.

"The letters of responsiveness and thankfulness that have come back from the people have been like the old farmer's little candle lit in a public assembly in New England when they were debating about proclaiming a fast and he proposed a Thanksgiving Day.

"The letters of approval of things written or work done in improving business life which have come from the citizens and fellow-countrymen from all over the United States run to 99 per cent. with less than one per cent. of criticism, for every one of which we have been thankful.

"That man who will learn of none but himself is sure to have a fool for his master.' This was said by B. F." (Benjamin Franklin.)

So self-revealing are these writings of John Wanamaker that they almost constitute his autobiography. When still a young man he had sent a telegram to the Y. M. C. A. of Bridgeton, N. J., in reply to a request for a sketch of his life—saying laconically: "Thinking, trying, toiling, and trusting in God is all of my biography." Now in these writings he revealed how he thought, tried, toiled, and trusted in God.

The writings, themselves, are too voluminous to be published here in full, but from them are taken these "sayings"

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—like Benjamin Franklin's maxims—especially those which seem best to reveal his inmost character.

¶ Happy is the man who chooses his life's work carefully and stands by it faithfully to the end.

¶ Let no man shift the job on others which, under the circumstances, he should do himself.

¶ Some men have to be put into a quart measure and then ladeled out to see how much of them is froth.

¶ Those who do not only the work assigned to them, but who find time without neglecting their special duties to study and understand the work of the person next above, sooner or later take the step upward.

¶ The interests of work-givers and work-doers are indissolubly bound together.

¶ The capital of trade and commerce is much more than money. There must be visions, principles and profound devotion to well-matured plans faithfully carried out, benefitting the public as well as the owners and investors. Such businesses cannot be extinguished.

¶ You can safely trust the people to know where they can get the worth of their money.

¶ This store is first for its patrons and afterward for its owners.

¶ We cannot all be generals, doctors or preachers, but we can be plain, honest, unselfish men and women, helping each other to live a true life.

¶ Whoever keeps his health can work, and that in time will make him independent.

¶ Do not presume that your name on a sign is worth anything, even if you bear the name of a worthy father or have inherited a business of his making. Your knowledge, integrity and ability must be proven and appear before you claim credit and position for what was done by your predecessors.

¶ No man on earth is so happy as the man who loves his work and goes home at night with a contented heart because of a good day's work well done.

¶ Every city is what its men have been.

¶ The laboring men of this land may safely trust the questions in which they are interested to public discussion and to the logic of reason.

¶ No day seems long enough to those who love their work.

¶ Few men, if any, are merchants by birthright, college education or inherited capital.

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¶ I have a little bedroom clock of which I am fond, for it strikes the hours and quarters, but it gets tired and stops striking the last day or two before its regular winding time. I have said to it, "little clock, you are a poor thing and I don't want you unless you strike true every day and night of the week when you were made to do that and wound up to do that, and that's your only business in the world."

¶ Let us do things—do things.

¶ I will not stand still. I must learn all the time.

¶ The stitch is lost unless the thread is knotted.

¶ Dawn, daylight, and night-fall chase each other hard, and before we know it one-seventh of the week is gone.

¶ Labor of some kind is a necessity for well-being to every human being.

¶ The day's work left over for tomorrow doubles the burdens of tomorrow.

¶ Clean up every day the affairs of the day.

¶ Of the ten men I feel most of the time within me, eight of them are almost always asleep.

¶ This is not a sitting-down business.

¶ A plain No is an honest chap and a hearty Yes at the right moment is everything.

¶ Let acts follow your good wishes.

¶ Many men go down hill the easy way to please the people, instead of going up hill to meet the problems.

¶ It is not the leap at the start but the steady going on that gets there.

¶ To suffer oneself to being talked into feeling old, and therefore to lay aside one's occupation and to settle down into ease and inactivity, is in many observable instances to hasten the years and to hurry forward the end of life.

¶ Go straight on in your own way, and the nobodies, the mere talkers, will get out of your way.

¶ To do the duty of the day or night, hour by hour, wherever we are placed, is the real thing.

¶ Don't mummify yourself because you are able to live without working.

¶ No man is at liberty to be idle and to expect to reap where he has not sown.

¶ It is for us to plow and plant.

¶ Say well is good, but do well is better.

¶ I think any one who is afraid of being supplanted in his job ought to be supplanted.

¶ There are just as many gossips among men as among women.

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¶ We have no one to fear except ourselves.

¶ Vanity, power and the dare-devil spirit living in the soul of man often blind and speed him on to where he is wrecked upon the rocks of pride, prejudice and hate.

¶ To believe you cannot do a thing is the way to make it impossible.

¶ For the anonymous scribbler you have about as much respect as you could have for a small boy who throws a stone at you from behind a wall and then runs away.

¶ To gain a prize of any kind with strife and jealousies and bitter feelings on the other side costs too much.

¶ An envious neighbor is the worst kind one can have to live with.

¶ A suspicious man is not a happy man.

¶ It is a little mind that supposes everybody is looking at him because he is trying to do something that he believes to be great.

¶ A little mouse of a man can gnaw off the thin thread of credit of some young fellow just starting in business, who if given a chance may in time become one of the best assets of citizenship.

¶ No man can make horse-shoes with gossip.

¶ No brave man will loiter idly on the corner with the children of fear.

¶ It is a great thing to be a builder of something.

¶ No man or concern can succeed permanently by pulling down others.

¶ Carelessness in business even in little things is its worst moth.

¶ No aim or a low aim is next door to a crime.

¶ You mend your automobile on the spot when something breaks. Don't let your life be going on with something crippled in it.

¶ When you save a man you save one person. When you save a boy you save a whole multiplication table.

¶ It will not hurt the boys to split wood or run errands, nor harm girls to wash dishes or sweep the floor.

¶ Trust the younger men. Give them a fair chance.

¶ Young man, entering a business life, be good at heart and work conscientiously on honest principles, and when the balance of the year is struck there will be much to the good.

¶ The first duty of a boy is to his conscience. The second duty is to his home, because there is a mother there. His third duty is to his country.

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¶ It is a pity for a man or boy to be only a dark lantern.

¶ A crooked tree, warped when it was little, is to be pitied, but infinitely more is it to be deplored that a young fellow should form a taste for things that will stunt his life and disappoint his parents and friends.

¶ The making of America cannot be done alone with picks and shovels. The real America of the future is what its boys and girls shall become by academic and vocational training.

¶ It is the children and their mothers who keep the world sweet.

¶ Walking one afternoon with Munkácsy in the lovely Duchy of Luxembourg, years ago, the writer learned from the great artist that what a man sees depends upon what is within himself. It is not alone his eyes nor his ears that tell him things. Munkácsy saw Nature and passing incidents with more than eyes; he saw with his soul. It was reflected in his face. So it is that there are those who commune with Nature with more faculties than the eyes, which simply tell us colors and shapes and flowers and leaves, but nothing of their melodies and harmonies. They will see the most without who have the most within.

¶ Success is not a haphazard affair.

¶ The inward look of a man into himself is what counts most in living his life.

¶ All woman's bright ideas and prudent counsels come to her intuitively.

¶ No human being should permit himself to become a mere machine.

¶ Whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well and without delay.

¶ The man who does not learn to give early in life is generally stingy to the end.

¶ It is always a mistake to be hasty in spending money.

¶ A man sometimes has to live to "middle life" before he discovers his own susceptibility to temptation. To many of us the world only begins to unveil itself after we have reached the forties.

¶ Talk things over softly without uppishness on either side and find the fairest way.

¶ No man was ever bankrupted by benevolence.

¶ All of us will be better off when we feel enough grown up to stop being fed with any kind of a spoon.

¶ You have to live with yourself, and your bad deeds will be sure to flock around you some time in life's later hours and give you unhappiness.

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¶ I cannot hold other people's tongues, and it has taken me a long time to get control of my own. But it can be done.

¶ Conscience can go to sleep when one deafens his ears to it.

¶ Something within us tells us that truth is truth when we hear it and really want to know the truth.

¶ One may be too rich to become anything but heir to another man's money.

¶ What is success but to make sacrifices?

¶ Where there are faults on both sides forgive and forget.

¶ What is to be, must be.

¶ A good honest face-to-face criticism is not only welcome, but may be valuable; an invisible criticism, however well meant, tumbles into the waste basket discredited.

¶ Life is too short to be mean and take credits that do not belong to us, or to be jealous of others.

¶ To live the fullest life possible must be our first endeavor.

¶ People as well as places perhaps unconsciously display signs that tell just what they are.

¶ Almost every human being wants to do right.

¶ Almost all of us are inclined to be fond of ourselves.

¶ The liberal soul will always be rich.

¶ The man who can stand to his convictions is great in any age.

¶ None of us can live a full and useful life and be wholly absorbed in himself.

¶ Bad nature is a mad dog.

¶ Only great things can be seen long distances.

¶ Body and soul must go together to reach the goal.

¶ The North Star is more valuable than any other because the little fellow is always in his place.

¶ Money has feet and walks away, but right habits are abiding.

¶ Everything can be determined by the three little words—"Is it right?"

¶ Nobility is elective and not hereditary.

¶ Study to be unhurried, unflurried and not easily provoked.

¶ There is truly such a thing as keeping the heart unwrinkled. It is by being hopeful, cheerful, kindly, reverent and thankful.

¶ No man can dream character into himself—he must hammer and forge himself into a man.

¶ Our conduct is only a sample of our thoughts.

¶ The mind grows upon what it feeds upon.

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¶ Try to learn some one thing each day. It is the only way to get further ahead on your chosen work.

¶ The climax of success will surely arrive if we keep life's foundations right.

¶ To think hard and quickly, see the core of the subject, seize it and base actions upon it, is a secret of success.

¶ Only a few people do any all-around thinking.

¶ To think well is to grow well.

¶ It is a great folly to run away from facts.

¶ Even a little pat on the shoulder helps a man, or even a sensible woman, when they are doing the best they know.

¶ This is a good world if you mind to use it properly.

¶ If men were to get nearer to each other and practice good-fellowship even moderately this would be a happier world to live in.

¶ Wisdom does not disallow the pleasures of life, but she permits them with moderation and discrimination.

¶ Man is the only creature on the globe that ignores the Creator and defies His right to arrange the harmonies of His own world for the happiness of its people.

¶ If it is possible, go out of the way to lighten burdens.

¶ While we may not be able to make life a Garden of Eden, we must avoid helping to make it a Dead Sea.

¶ Instead of so much praising of ourselves let us look sharper to find in others something to praise.

¶ You often think you have done your best, but have found yourself able to do better.

¶ Let it be a joy always to do anything for a child.

¶ It is not fair to limit our lives to drudgery alone.

¶ This would be a happier world if we were more hospitable.

¶ The bitterest tears shed over graves have been for words spoken hastily and for deeds left undone.

¶ Whatever's wrong with the world must hark back to the men and women who populate it, and the training of the homes and schools.

¶ Both good and bad fortune are valuable in showing us ourselves.

¶ Everything runs down if left alone.

¶ Every day and date is as good as any other if we make the proper use of it.

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¶ Sometimes not to speak ill requires silence only. A friend of the writer had a rule to drop a subject when others did not agree with him. It is not necessary to be cross or bitter just because we are sure we are right.

¶ A precious legacy was left to me by an old merchant of sixty years ago; and he never knew what he was doing for me. It was this: he never complained, he never spoke ill of any one, he always had a good word to say of everybody.

¶ Too bad not to realize the beauty of the springtime flower gardens until the November frosts have come.

¶ Some people never see the ideal of things.

¶ Some people never see the sun in a dew-drop.

¶ The morning star makes no noise in its rising. All great development of ideas comes modestly and silently to fruition without blare of trumpets or pomp of praise.

¶ The wind in a man's face sometimes makes him wise.

¶ There are natural heart singers and unconscious growlers.

¶ Be sure to avoid a funeral look and don't mention troubles of the past before you sit down.

¶ Hardly any business man is half what he might be.

¶ Confidence is a plant of slow growth from an invisible, internal force.

¶ Today is a little seed and in it is some tomorrow.

¶ It is a good world, really, if we will try to make the best of what is around us.

¶ There are always rainbows of some kind ahead, and whatever the weather, all weathers are good to those who are determined to win out.

¶ Tomorrow is always coming with new revelations.

¶ Get out of yourself by getting into yourself ideas and a new spirit.

¶ Only ourselves can come short of our expectations.

¶ After all there's plenty of good air, bright sunshine and genuine happiness to go around the world and give everybody a share, if we only look for it in the right way.

¶ Neither nations nor individuals have an unchallengeable right to walk over each other.

¶ Almost all wars of nations and of individuals are entered into hastily. There is only one sensible thing to do with mistakes, and that is to correct them quickly as possible, without smashing each other's faces and bankrupting ourselves financially as nations or individuals.

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¶ What is a sundial without the sun? It has all the figures on it, but it cannot come to time.

¶ A little candle is much until the sun rises.

¶ When the heart and head go together few mistakes are made.

¶ A man who never makes mistakes loses much that it would do him good to know.

¶ There are too many men who build fences around themselves and do nothing for fear of making mistakes.

¶ It is a mistake for one to think that everything that interests himself is equally engrossing to others.

¶ Manners, like charity, begin at home.

¶ The strongest man needs the home bread and sleep and the peace under his own roof.

¶ It is not rest alone the night brings. It is the change of scene and the company of home, its bright lights and good cheer.

¶ Neither prosperity nor poverty shared alter the relation of old friends.

¶ The heart must get its education and good spirit within the home.

¶ Whoever expects to have old friends must catch them young.

¶ Sleep is sweet after a full day's work is well done.

¶ No man has a right to be in his family or society such a sour-ball as we used to buy for a penny, when we were boys.

¶ Good manners are the art of making people easy and at home with each other.

¶ Spend yourself in courtesy, and the more courtesy you spend the more you will have left.

¶ It is something to be thankful for to be born with a genial spirit and gracious manners.

¶ For every courtesy, little or big, let us say, "thank you," to one another.

¶ Courtesy is a coin that we can never have too much of nor ever be stingy with.

¶ Smiles are roses along the way.

¶ I never look at the sunrise that it does not give me a sunrise feeling.

¶ The path of virtue leads through the valley of sacrifice.

¶ The only wish I have is that I could have done all my work better.

¶ Mankind is one family.

¶ Tell your story and quit.

CHAPTER XVII

HIS WAR-TIME CRUSADE

DURING the World War, John Wanamaker's writings had a larger meaning. They began to speak for the people and the nation. They became his greatest crusade—for peace, Christianity, patriotism, justice, mercy.

Two years before—in April, 1912—he had said to a delegation of the Fifth International Congress of the Chamber of Commerce:

"I hail the coming day when we shall have but one postage stamp the world over, but one system of measurement, but one coin and but one language. That seems to be like a great hope and yet the truth is that we have the same purpose—to elevate our countries; and a great readiness to understand each other, and to be friends. The world is growing warmer-hearted and we are getting closer together. Let us stand against war; let us stand for peace; let us be careful to not misunderstand each other, to believe in each other, and to work together for the good, not of some little corner, but of the whole earth from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof."

Now came the World War which was to test whether the civilized world could work together "for the good, not of some little corner, but of the whole earth."

In common with all men of heart, Wanamaker's imme-

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diate reaction to the war was that of horror and grief. As a leader in the Church, he was greatly shocked that Christian countries in this age could become embroiled in a terrible and devastating conflict. His first public words, however, were written as a citizen, as one of the millions of American citizens who believed at first that the United States could hold aloof.

President Wilson issued his neutrality proclamation on August 4, 1914. Two days later Wanamaker quoted from George Washington's farewell address: "It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world," and he made this observation: "The United States is the one nation that goes to bed at night unafraid and unanxious as to war. Thousands of miles lie between us and the carnage of the Old World, and without danger we are standing still looking off over sea and land—only with our eyes beholding its horrors. It is a great thing to be an American citizen living under Washington's counsel. It is a great thing to be planting fields, gathering harvests and keeping up our manufacturing industries. It is a great thing for the country that goes on building itself up while the other countries are tearing themselves down."

In response to a request from the *Chicago Examiner* on August 6, 1914, to become a member of "a world-wide committee" to bring a quick conclusion to the war now threatening the devastation of Europe, he replied: "Horrible as it is this war will not have been in vain if its very horrors and destruction bring about that long wished for everlasting peace, a time when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. The churches

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in the whole civilized world should make this their prayer next Sunday and every day until the war ends. Will do all I can on your committee."

On August 10, he wrote as a merchant, having in mind a merchant's duty to the public:

"A prolonged war will mean a scarcity of foreign goods. We will not raise prices on fabrics or articles made abroad that we have on hand. Even though it come to a time we have the last French handkerchief in the box or the last German tablecloth on the shelves, we shall sell at the old prices."

A few days later he said: "The war began suddenly, it can stop just as suddenly; but all hands must be on deck and be prepared for squalls, to trim sail according to circumstances," and he added a week later:

"What next for America? First of all, let us firmly resolve that nothing shall draw the United States into the wild war of the world. The President at Washington is at the helm, and irrespective of our ancestries, religion or politics, the people, one and all, must stand solidly at his back to conserve peace abroad and good will at home."

Seeing many German ships lying idle in Hoboken harbor, as he crossed the Hudson by ferry on his weekly trip between Philadelphia and New York, he wrote on August 19:

"This is the opportune moment to get a Merchant Marine. Those splendid ocean-carrying steamships, lying still in the Hoboken docks, are now offered for sale. Let the nation buy them if they cost twenty millions of dollars or more. We

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couldn't make a better business investment. They will form a commercial navy which will more than pay its way."

The following day he added:

"Where will the money come from to buy the ships on sale? Strange to say, the American people have already provided it. It is in the small sums that have been deposited in the Postal Savings Banks, which amounted to the sum of forty million dollars when last reported, December 31, 1913, and ought to be twice as much now. What is fifty millions to the United States if it can create overnight such a large part of a Merchant Marine needed in the face of the dawning new era?"

And a few days later:

"If there is any international law against the United States becoming the owners of the idle ships in the port of New York the sooner it is known the better, that other plans may go forward—the work of building great ships at Cramp's, at the New York shipyard, at Camden, Newport News and San Francisco. What if the ships will not pay—neither does the Navy nor War Department. Anything but tepid indefiniteness."

The newspapers began to discuss the project editorially, some of them raising objections, and Wanamaker persisted in his idea:

"Fourteen idle ships in the Port of Hoboken could possibly have been leased for instant commercial and mail purposes with privilege of purchase for delivery and payments after the war closed. It is absurd that the United States could not man the ships with American seamen. Some of the sepulchral newspapers have elected their responsible

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literary writers to seats of wisdom above the chair of the President of the United States and delivered themselves in terms of what the Hon. Charles Emory Smith used to call in his great newspaper 'solemn and ponderous flap-doodle,' opposing great national needs. In the meantime the newspapers as late as yesterday spread the fact that a distinguished Philadelphian hired a ship to bring across the Atlantic detained tourists."

As the battle of the Marne began and Paris was threatened, the American Red Cross issued its first call to the American people. Wanamaker responded instantly not only with his personal resources, but with the resources of his two stores.

"Neutrality in war, humanity in suffering," he said, and then issued "a call to the Red Cross colors." Official stations for the securing of subscriptions and supplies were opened in both stores, continuing throughout the war. In addition, many Red Cross appeals to the public were made in the store announcements.

By the end of September, although the French Government still had its headquarters at Bordeaux (removing from Paris when that city was threatened) and the Belgian Government at Havre, the German advance was halted in Flanders at the battles of Yser and Ypres, and the Channel ports were saved. So staggering was the loss of life, property and wealth, however, that Wanamaker wrote on September 28: "The war *must, must, MUST* cease soon. How can any or all nations continue to conduct it unless they are able to turn buttons into gold pieces?"

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In the autumn of 1914, as the world began to realize that the Belgian people, especially the children, were suffering acutely from lack of food, Wanamaker reminded his fellow citizens that in 1892 Philadelphia had sent a food ship, the *Indiana*, to succor starving Russia, and asked his city to come to the aid of Belgium. He chartered a steamer, the *Thelma*, and asked the people to supply the cargo. The appeal found instant response, and quickly laden, the *Thelma* sailed for Rotterdam on November 11 with a cargo of 1,700 tons of food stuffs, valued at \$104,143.67. It was called the "Mercy Ship" and it was Philadelphia's gift to "the starving non-combatants of unhappy Belgium."

A week later, Wanamaker chartered another ship, the *Orn*, and through the hearty coöperation of the people of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland, this "Thanksgiving Ship" was filled with 2,025 tons of food, valued at \$150,000, and sailed for Belgium on November 25.

On May 7, 1915, the *Lusitania* was sunk by a German submarine and 124 Americans were drowned, among them Frank B. Tesson, head of the shoe section of the New York Wanamaker's. Shocked by this tragedy, brought home so closely to him, Wanamaker published a proclamation to the American people on May 15, 1915:

"Stand by the President!

"This is what a million people said on Saturday morning last when they woke up and found that the *Lusitania* had gone down.

"Whatever race, creed, color or politics we belong to, every native-born citizen, every naturalized citizen, every

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person seeking for naturalization, must nail up the American flag and take his stand for it on the basis of the President's message to the world, making plain our position in the forefront of civilization for these principles:

"1. Opposing the disposition and action of any nation, under any circumstances, to attempt to control the waters of any of the oceans in denial to the equal rights of the United States.

"2. Insisting upon the disavowal, as an adopted method of war, of such acts as the sinking of any merchant ships carrying American citizens in the pursuit of business or happiness.

"3. Insisting upon adequate reparation for American lives lost and American property destroyed.

"4. Demanding that submarine warfare on merchant shipping shall cease.

"It is in these strong terms that the President has spoken, and the President speaks for the nation"—and then Wanamaker asked the people to sign a pledge of support to the President—as follows:

"We, American citizens, whether native or foreign born, without regard to political party, race, creed or religion, do hereby pledge ourselves, in the words of the Declaration of Independence, 'Our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor,' to support the President of the United States, in any decision or action he may find it necessary to take in the present state of national and international affairs, to uphold the honor of our country, in defense of and for the protection of the lives of all or any of our fellow citizens, and hereby we give our signatures."

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After two months, during which time diplomatic notes concerning the *Lusitania* sinking went forth and back, but without result, Wanamaker wrote, July 17:

"Peace talk is mostly fol de rol at the present moment. There can be no peace until capable, well informed and thoroughly well balanced men look over all the questions and rights and wrongs and play the game fairly to just conclusions that should be plainly proclaimed to all nations. This is a time for war by wise men's minds and true men's hearts without guns or submarines.

"Business statesmanship as well as patriotism is the hourly call just now."

A few days later he turned to Lincoln:

"If only Abraham Lincoln were alive today is, without disrespect to anyone, the natural expression of patriots all over this good land of ours. 'What would Lincoln do?' 'What would he write?' We do well to hark back for light and inspiration to our great men's clear visions, sturdy purposes and safe examples.

"If it were but a sentence, Lincoln would write one of old in Revolutionary times: 'Not one cent for tribute, but millions (and billions if need be) for defence from imposition and unjust demands.'"

With this thought still in his mind, that Lincoln would say, were he here, "Not one cent for tribute, but billions, if need be, for defence from imposition," Wanamaker made a surprising speech about "buying Belgium" which created no little sensation. It was delivered on July 27, 1915. He was accepting the chairmanship of the Philadelphia Branch of

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the National Security League. He spoke with a heart overwhelmed by the tragedy of the war, especially by the plight of Belgium. He was now not the business man looking at affairs with cold logic. He was not even the churchman, nor the citizen. He was the man, and he spoke with a man's sympathy.

"Raise billions; buy Belgium!" he exclaimed. "Instead of putting money into ships, this country should borrow a great sum, a hundred billion dollars if necessary, and buy Belgium, and give it its freedom when it is able to take care of itself."

The idea seemed fantastic—to buy a country. But Wanamaker had in mind Lincoln's statement, "I would save the nation." He would save Belgium at any cost in money or treasure. A hundred billion dollars sounded staggering—"there isn't as much money as that in America," people said. But the war finally cost several hundred billions of dollars, and Wanamaker was among the first to foresee its stupendous cost.

But he was thinking of lives, not of money. "I would mortgage the whole of Philadelphia," he exclaimed, "for any sum that is necessary to stop the bloodshed and righting up the world again, each nation pursuing its mission. Mind you this, I make no suggestion of establishing the United States of Belgium or of the portion of France that has been cut off by the war, or the Duchy of Luxembourg, and I expressly declare that it is not to put money into the hands of any nation to supply wealth or munitions of war. I simply touch the commercial side of the needs of the nations, who no doubt in the settlement of the war will require

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immense indemnities that the already wrecked and ravished countries cannot furnish.

"I have in mind that the first scrap of paper that would go without discount the world over is the scrap of paper that America would make when it would say, we will furnish the money to pay the indemnities and will hold these countries until they are able to restore themselves, and turn them back when they are ready to return to us the money we have advanced, which I believe America will be able to raise, without interest, for five years, for such a purpose, of stopping the most colossal war that has ever occurred on the face of the earth. If it is to be a question of good gold dollars and the lives and homes of millions of men, I would go to any length to sacrifice the dollars rather than the men and the homes."

For some months Wanamaker's writings did not touch on the war. In the meantime Germany had withstood Russia. Gallipoli had fallen. Ambassador Bernstorff had given assurance that no more lives would be sunk without warning, and Germany had acknowledged liability to America in the *Lusitania* tragedy. But submarine warfare continued.

On April 18, 1916, President Wilson sent to Germany what was practically an ultimatum that unless she ceased submarine warfare the United States would sever diplomatic relations. The following day he addressed the Congress on our relations with Germany, and called upon the nation to prepare for the war.

Now, John Wanamaker could speak plainly. There was no further need of restraint. He issued this ringing declara-

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tion on April 20: "U. S. rallying to the colors. Old Glory yesterday, despite wind and weather, reigned supreme. The boys, big and little, sang everywhere—"We are coming, Father Wilson, on your first call one hundred thousand strong, and millions more to follow when needed." For the second time in our business history our young fellows flocked to the flag, pledged to carry it to victory.*

"Business organizations should step up promptly to the first line of national defence. From the beginning this store began the training of its young men to be ready for such a crisis as is now upon us. When we falter or fail in a crucial time like this, better far we had never existed.

"Our young men composing what is now known as our University Regiment have been for several years under a system of continuous military discipline and training. The first duty of yesterday was to make our young fellows of the National Guard free to report for duty under the President's sudden and surprising call. The chaps of our stores in number are more than sufficient to form a full company, and their families are provided for by the continuing of their salaries during their service with the Colors, and their places reserved for them for their return. This American business will always hold up the American flag."

The following day he published this call to patriotism:

"Stand by the President. On this Good Friday, the day of the cross of a lonely Man in Jerusalem, let us lay off our politics and sectarianism and think of the burdened man at Washington, chosen by the votes of the people to be their President *for four years*, and give him due support and un-

* They volunteered in the Cuban War.

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qualified support and concentrate all our strength to help him. These are solemn days for the nations and doubly solemn for its chief executive. Let it not be said by the President that the men who could have helped failed him when he needed them most."

During the summer of 1916 the Hughes-Wilson presidential campaign was on, and Wanamaker refrained from mentioning the war in his store editorials lest they might be considered to have political aspect. But as a citizen, he took an active part in the campaign, being chairman of the town meeting in Cooper Union, New York City, where Theodore Roosevelt delivered a caustic attack on the President.

Wanamaker's most important speech was delivered November 4, 1916, at Wilmington, and was an attack on the Democratic party, as withering as Roosevelt's, but not an attack on the President personally. The Democratic slogan, "Peace and Prosperity," he denounced as a "misleading advertisement which they expect to pour, like soothing syrup, down the throats of the American people to quiet any inquiry into the future," adding that it is "an affront and an insult to the intelligence and conscience of our citizenship. It is like unto Nero fiddling while Rome is burning."

"Interpreted pictorially," he said, "this slogan of peace and prosperity means and says to the rest of mankind that Uncle Sam has grown to be a fat, pudgy, happy gentleman, with a big paunch, a small head and a smaller conscience. He is sitting in his big easy chair, a big dinner in his stomach, a cigar in his mouth, about to fall asleep. Outside his home,

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with the din and lamentations of struggle easily heard through the open window, his neighbors are in sore conflict and distress. He turns his head. He looks. He sees. He closes his eyes. He is too proud to fight. He is too fat to care. He is too contented to realize the truth. He has 'peace and prosperity'—what else matters?

"Is this the Uncle Sam that we sometimes like to think is a composite of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln? Is this the Uncle Sam that the American people have so long cherished in their memories and hearts as their ideal? What has become of the real Uncle Sam? The tall, straight, lithe body of muscle, of nerve and bone, with no overpadding of fat. The fighting chin. The firm mouth. The clear eye. The kindly smile. The Uncle Sam always on his feet, always on his job, always ready for the emergency, always ready to help those in need. The Uncle Sam who is neighbor and friend to the world; never seeking a fight, but never shirking one; doing his work and duty at whatever personal sacrifice.

"Are we content with our selfish brand of 'Peace and Prosperity,' or are we willing and prepared to take our place in the changing destinies of the world?

"Shall Uncle Sam be lulled to sleep in the quiet before the storm?

"Europe is going through fire that she may have a resurrection into the higher life. She is going through fire of the flesh. America must go through fire of the soul.

"There is God's work to be done by the United States. Christianity has not broken down. Humanity has not deteriorated. Only the machinery of the Church and government has failed.

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"I still have faith in the Church that has in it the spirit of Christianity. And I have unbounded faith in a representative government of the people.

"Let a call go out from America to the churches of the world to preach peace, talk peace, live peace—a call in all languages.

"Let the churches and schools and governments at peace send out this call to the people of the world—a call for peace with honor—for peace with mercy—for peace with forgiveness—a righteous peace that will be permanent because built upon the rights of humanity.

"Could this war have come had the churches done this at the outbreak of hostilities? Suppose—even with the armies in the field—suppose that the Cardinals of the Catholic Church, the priests and pastors of all churches near at hand, had marched down between the trenches, between the guns—could the war have gone on? Suppose they had been killed—these martyrs—under the impulse of the moment—what of it? The war would have stopped. The sacrifice would have saved the world conflagration.

"Will the Church fail again to do its duty?

"Will America fail?

"Will the people of the United States fail?

"Are we content to be at peace, and to live in prosperity at the sacrifice of humanity?"

After President Wilson's re-election, although won largely on the plea that "he kept us out of the war," the United States was rapidly drawn into the world conflict.

On February 3, 1917, diplomatic relations with Germany

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were severed. Wanamaker was in Florida at the time, but he immediately telegraphed this statement which was published over his name in the usual corner of the store announcement:

"This telegram from the South requests and urges not only the wholehearted support of the President, but the immediate, thorough and enforced organization of all the men who in the past and present years have been employed and trained in the military organization of our two stores, New York and Philadelphia—

"To unite in preparations to make ready for any call the authorities at Washington or Albany or Harrisburg may make for military service, in guarding the national arsenals and the ports of New York, Philadelphia and elsewhere, and in performing any other duties that may arise, as the National Government may order.

"In these two stores 642 boys between the ages of 14 and 18 are now receiving military instruction—including school of the soldier, school of the squad, company close order, battalion drill, regimental ceremonies, first aid and sanitation, signal work (with flags and wireless outfit), elementary map reading, rifle practice, body building.

"Since 1891 this military training has been part of our store organization and in these 25 years it is estimated that more than ten thousand men have received military training at our hands. Two hundred and fifty-one commissioned officers have been developed. Thirty-two have been commissioned as officers in the regular army, or national guard. Two are now officers in the U. S. army. Ten commissioned officers and one hundred and fifty-six men from our stores

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were (and some of them are still) in active service on the Mexican border.*

"North, South, East and West are ONE irrespective of political parties, creeds and colors, in duty and patriotism at this time to follow the President faithfully. The clock has struck the hour requiring loyalty to the flag of this nation under which we have lived as brothers. Life, law and liberty are calling."

On April 6, 1917, the Congress declared that a state of war existed between the United States and Germany. On April 15, President Wilson called upon American citizens to act as a unit for the preservation of the nation's ideals and for the triumph of democracy in the world war, to the merchant suggesting the motto: small profits and quick service.

John Wanamaker instantly responded by sending a telegram to the President and reading it together with the President's proclamation to all his store family assembled in emergency meeting.

He said to the President:

"Not only has the supreme test of the nation arrived, but the supreme test of each individual . . . politics have noth-

* 1414 young men of the Wanamaker stores served in the World War. Thirty-three made the supreme sacrifice. To their memory a Golden Star, with names inscribed, is erected in each store. To the survivors Wanamaker personally presented a Pershing medal, struck in Paris, saying that he would forever hold himself their debtor for the sacrifices they made, their utter forgetfulness of self, and the victory of righteousness to which through shot and shell by day and by night, they had carried our beloved flag. The war service men of the Wanamaker stores have organized themselves into the Thomas B. Wanamaker Post No. 413, New York, and No. 661 Pennsylvania, American Legion, taking the name from the elder son of John Wanamaker, who died in 1908.

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ing to do with the present situation . . . for our country's sake we are patriots above parties or creeds.

"Representing all the people in our business in two cities . . . and which forces include over twelve hundred for many years under military training within the stores, we accept your ideal of a merchant's duty; and whatever powers of usefulness we have by association with and command of markets, we place not only our business institutions, but ourselves as a unit for any and every service which will aid you to carry out your plans at this momentous hour. . . .

"The words that you have written to the people in the proclamation stand abreast of anything written or spoken by George Washington or Abraham Lincoln.

"To 'speak, act and serve together,' for our country's sake we pledge ourselves to our utmost capacity."

But America was not ready for war.

Her preparedness was inadequate to the needs of the hour. There was great public clamor to hurry the war preparations.

At a public dinner in May Joseph H. Choate, although old and feeble, made a vigorous appeal to his country—"for God's sake, hurry up!"

A few days later, on May 17, Wanamaker gave still greater publicity to this patriotic speech:

"Mr. Choate's dimming but eagle eyes saw the awful bloodshed and waste of men and money caused by the horrors of war, excessive taxation and consequent suffering, and his bleeding heart cried out: '*For God's sake, hurry up!*' The speech of the big-hearted old patriot was to the French

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and English envoys before him and to all the nations engaged in war.

"The quicker and more complete, and even colossal, the preparations that America makes, the more convincing the effect of what this great nation's capability is to meet any emergency; and the sooner the entire world understands this the better . . . to save life, treasure and wastage . . . by exchanges of Envoys or by a Hague conference of Presidents and Kings, regents and delegates . . . bent upon finding a way to stop the terrible warfare."

Liberty Bonds were placed on sale at Wanamaker's with the first issue, and each succeeding issue was vigorously and patriotically advertised, Wanamaker and his son, Rodman, buying thirty-five million dollars of them on which after the war they took a loss of over two million dollars—calling it "not a business loss, but a contribution gladly made to enable our country to triumph over its enemies."

On June 15, when the first Liberty Loan closed, he proclaimed its success in these words: "For the peace and the freedom of the world—Old Glory:—still there."

On June 27: "Millions for humanity, not one cent for indemnity." To his own people he said: "Money is the smallest thing we can give—we will give our lives if necessary."

On July 5: "We did nothing to initiate this war . . . we delayed a protest when Belgium was invaded . . . we deprecated war and exhausted every known means to fairly remain neutral. . . . In spite of all endeavors our rights upon seas were invaded; the precious lives of men, women and children were destroyed, valuable property was demolished

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and the flag of our country was dishonored and insulted. . . . There came a day, April 2, 1917, when the blood of the martyrs of the American Revolution was heard, calling from the ground, drawn by the swords and guns of one hundred and forty years ago, commanding us to preserve at all hazards and costs the sacred liberty for which they had fought and died. . . . For this cause and this alone we are in the war."

American soldiers had now reached France and the first clash in the trenches had taken place. War had also been declared against Austria. On December 6, 1917, Wanamaker wrote:

"To the last man and to the last dollar of our wealth and of our savings, large or small, and to the extent of our ability to borrow anywhere and everywhere, every man, woman and child must put their all of time, money and influence into the scale of justice now safely and firmly held in hand by the President of the United States. Any failure to trust the war President and his counsellors may discourage, deter and delay the great movements under way to hasten the war to the proper ending."

By January 1, 1918, United States troops were in the first-line trenches. By March they were holding $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the front "somewhere in France," and were making drives forward. On March 20 the Allies' great drive began, and on March 27 General Pershing offered to the Allies all U. S. forces wherever needed. Another Liberty Loan campaign was on, and Wanamaker vigorously supported it again, this time announcing that : "The total gross receipts from sales of

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the Wanamaker stores in New York and Philadelphia for five days will be turned over as subscriptions to Liberty Bonds."

In January, 1918, to the amazement of other merchants, Wanamaker, as a war-time measure, placed his stores on a six and half hour day schedule—from 10 to 4:30—"to conserve coal (a national famine was threatened) and to relieve the overcrowded street cars, trams and subways for the use of the greatly increasing army of war-workers who must in such a time necessarily get to and from their workshops without delay."

To the Chamber of Commerce of Carlisle, Pa., who asked him his views of after-the-war conditions, Wanamaker said on May 8, 1918:

"Of course, there will be a jolt and a readjustment when the war stops, but there will be ample supplies of money to conduct business. If necessary, the Government of the United States, which will have a stupendous income from war taxation, can make credits easier through its financial organizations all over the United States, connected with and directed from the Treasury Department to especially favor the business people outside of the large cities.

"I firmly believe that regular, steady, unspeculative business has no reason to be discouraged or scared; but I think that wise merchants and raw-material buyers should not overload themselves with stocks at present high prices. We should buy sparingly and replenish.

"While it is only my opinion, yet, after careful reflection,

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I am willing to say that it is my belief that the ensuing four years after the war are likely to be the most prosperous four years ever known in the United States." (This proved to be the fact.)

On October 14, 1918, with the war nearing its end, Wanamaker published this warning:

"Is it true that there is a lurking traitor in our midst? One who is striving to disgrace the flag? It is any enemy who, day in and day out, in time of day and in time of night, in the streets and in the homes, on the street cars and on the railroad trains, in the privacy of offices and in the open of the sunlight, makes the casual remark and the whispered caution and the loud-voiced declaration that: 'Oh well, the war's over; it won't matter so much now about the Liberty Loan.'

"Where is our honor?

"Where is our faith?

"Where is our city?

"Where is our freedom?

"Where is our flag?

"Now, then, let it not be said that New York or Philadelphia patriotism shrivels before Prussianism as yet unconquered, but manifestly conquerable, if we do not do our full duty in lending our money."

On November 12, after the signing of the armistice that virtually ended the war, Wanamaker said:

"Now give to your utmost—to the United War Work Fund. The best benefactor that manhood ever had among the nations of the world is the United States of America.

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The splendor of its achievements reached the highest watermark of all the centuries yesterday at daylight when the fighting of the four years' war ended and a mighty wave of equality, brotherhood and home government swept over the Old World to deliver it from the old systems of government and rebuild the nations along new lines of thought and purpose, such as were wrought out long ago by the fathers of this republic as represented by the American flag.

"In this national celebration hundreds of millions of people sat around the tables of victory which were communion tables of good will to the world with a song of all for each and each for all in the rebuilding of the world."

And two days later:

"The victory of Old Glory has dazed the world. Those terrible Americans surely turned the tide of war, and the world looks on, and wonders.

"All honor to General Pershing for his masterfulness of the greatest military problem ever set for an American commander.

"All honor to the patient and mighty government at Washington for bringing the peace that was conceived and engineered in the White House and the State Department.

"But the greatest honor of all to the women of America who sent husbands, sons, brothers, fathers, lovers to the fiery test of the battlefield, and worked day and night for their comfort and never let any one know how they suffered."

When President Wilson and his associates went abroad December 8, 1918, to attend the Peace Conference, Wanamaker wrote:

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"Why was President Wilson obliged to go overseas? To him it evidently was given to see the possibility of a reorganization and rebuilding of the world. In his personality is incarnated an almost incomprehensible truth. The President represents the belief of hundred of thousands of men of both hemispheres, not in detail but in principle, that wars of swords and guns and battleships shall forever cease. It is a man-and-nation saver the world is looking for today.

"Whatever others think, the President has no misgivings of the central facts of his mission. He felt, undoubtedly, the impress of a world duty. He has gone to respond to a summons that to him was as powerful and as irresistible as the star that shone upon Bethlehem was to the Wise Men of the East."

When Theodore Roosevelt died, Wanamaker wrote on January 8, 1919:

"Not since Abraham Lincoln fell asleep has there been in this country such a sorrow as on Monday when the messages came from Theodore Roosevelt's silent home. Like a flash of lightning, it touched the whole world. The immeasurableness of the loss to America and the world at this time is beyond human thought. It were well worth while to seek for the real secret of Theodore Roosevelt's masterful greatness. Was it in the fact that no insincerity lurked behind his ever-welcoming smile?"

The following day he wrote:

"It was the common people, as they are called, who fought and won the war, and it was, too, the common people who

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took the Liberty Bonds and the Thrift Stamps to furnish the funds for the war. The Lloyd Georges and President Wilsons and Premier Clemenceaus are only blossoms on the national tree.

"Huge wealth, corporational power and political forces long existent must take the shackles off the common people, and there'll be no more need for policemen to watch and guard the homes of citizens."

The American soldiers were now beginning to return from overseas. Of them Wanamaker said on January 22:

"Isn't it noticeable that the fellows who went off as boys are coming home looking like and bearing themselves as men?"

"It is not swagger, but splendid manliness. The sense of duty and responsibility in 'carrying on' the American flag has made men of them."

As the Peace Conference slowly proceeded, and there began to appear evidence of compromise to adjust differences of opinion among the representatives of the various countries, Wanamaker said on April 1:

"'No surrender' and 'no compromise' and 'no half measures' is the speech of the plain people everywhere throughout the United States these days. It is heard in the hotels, on the street corners and in railroad trains as one travels about."

The Victory Loan was now offered, and on April 21 he made this announcement:

"100 per cent Victory Liberty Loan Honor Flag flies at Wanamaker's today—a Bond for every employee."

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On May 10, he published "another personal statement by John Wanamaker," as follows:

"This is not the moment for anyone to hesitate as to duty toward those that sleep in the forests of France and on the high hills, each under a little cross tagged with his name—they who gave their lives for their country. We promised and we must not forget nor fail them.

"But it must be remembered also that there are over a million of our good boys still at the front ready to do the dying, if need be, to make sure of the peace that we are bargaining for; and we dare not halt in supporting them and surrounding them with comforts until our good ships return them to their sacrificing mothers and their old homes."

On May 12, Wanamaker paid a high tribute to the work of the Salvation Army, which was then making a financial drive:

"Giving all deserved credit to the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Knights of Columbus, and Hebrew Association, it is admitted on both sides that the fitness and great value of the Salvation Army Service was in the fact that they were first in the field, because their organizations in foreign countries found them nearer to the grounds where the troops were massed.

"It is conceded by the commanders of the armies, Generals Pershing, Foch, Haig, Joffre, March, and others, and by their constant words of praise and approval, that the prompt, laborious, untiring, courageous and self-sacrificing devotion of the Salvationists to the wounded, dying, dead and living,

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in camps, hospitals, in action and out of it, and by day and night, forms almost a miraculous chapter of the history of the war. With rare wisdom and tact, they were never where they were not wanted, and never absent when they were needed."

On the following day he added:

"The Grand Salvation Army * has at last come into its own. The army and navy fellows returning home, to its last man are its best witnesses. Not one of the letters sent home during the past four years to mothers, wives, and other girls expecting to be wives some day soon, was filled with aught but heaped-up praise and thankfulness for the angels of the night as well as of the day, who came like little mothers to the wet trenches, caring for the wounded and dying, and taking their last messages to loved ones."

* On September 17, 1927, Commander Evangeline Booth wrote in *The War Cry*, "As I write, my mind instinctively goes back over the history of my command in our beloved country, and there passes before me a company of noble-hearted souls, now gone to their reward, who, during their days on earth, gave to myself and to the Army the priceless gift of an unfailing friendship. Foremost in this connection is the name of the late Hon. John Wanamaker. Mr. Wanamaker was a devotee of my dear father, the Founder. He loved him as a brother. He comprehended his passionate ambition for the salvation of all men. This caused him to make a study of our work, and his comprehension of the Salvation Army was very full. He knew its aims and purposes. He approved its methods and plans. He blessed and encouraged its spirit. He helped it most liberally out of his great wealth. He honored me with a sweetly intimate friendship, and I always instinctively and freely, and with the utmost confidence, availed myself of the remarkable prescience and wise counsel of this peer among men, and this devoted servant and soldier of Jesus Christ. The last message he dictated was one to myself expressing his great love for and confidence in our movement. America lost a great citizen, the Salvation Army a most competent and influential champion, and myself a fond and dear friend when Mr. Wanamaker passed into Heaven. His memory is unspeakably precious, and will long act as an impetus to all. We are happy that we have today in his son, Mr. Rodman Wanamaker, one who has also the utmost confidence in our work, and who stands by us in weather fair and foul."

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Speaking for "the plain and pure patriotism of the George Washington type," Wanamaker said on June 25:

"The only hope of the troubled world at this time is to go straight on in everything that intensifies Americanism. It has some enemies who will show their teeth in wild acts of hostility, which, when the finals are played, will only add to their own ruination. The prayer of humanity is for all that is unfolded by the American flag. Nothing else will satisfy the multitudes all over the world who have longed for this hour, and have been wounded in body and would wait for the dawning of these days.

"It is hard for pride and power to submit, but there is one who will 'speak unto the people' and who bids them not to return into folly. Give us plain and pure patriotism of the George Washington type."

When the treaty of Versailles was signed, Wanamaker wrote on July 1:

"As soon as the wires brought the message of the signing they also rang the bells of joy in every human heart in America without a thought or consideration of creed, country or color, because the signature of appointed representatives of the nations of the world had been set to the proclamation of peace born in honor, and sealed by the blood of the heroes who died to secure it."

But on July 2, he added:

"Much must be said in praise of those who have laid out the first chart of peace. It cannot be possible that any one man on either side of the sea has the power to put in jeopardy the safety of a nation. To many of us, to the manor

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born, the Monroe Doctrine, enshrined in our national life, has been regarded with a kind of sanctity."

General Pershing landed in New York receiving the acclaim of the nation, and Wanamaker wrote on September 8:

"It is safe to say that no other man in the world can have a more enthusiastic welcome to the great metropolitan city of the United States. His welcome day is full of spontaneous and immeasurable pride in our great general, who was the minute man of action during every hour of the Great War."

When ratification of the Peace Treaty was under discussion in the United States Senate, Wanamaker wrote on November 14:

"Neither for temporary pride of party, nor for human friendship, should we gamble away at Washington any part of the Constitution of the United States or the Declaration of Independence. We must hold steadfastly to the foundations the nation was built upon by Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Hancock, and Hamilton.

"A hurried half-done piece of work only adds to our discontent, and puts off further the unity of the world and the settlement of the labor and financial questions now so disturbing. Hundreds of thousands of men and women at work will push up production at the sight of daylight, cheer up the workers and start forward with a new spirit as soon as the treaty is passed and properly safeguarded."

Nineteen-twenty was "presidential year," and on March 20 Wanamaker asked in one of his editorials: "Who shall

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be nominated for the next presidency?" adding: "The question as to who is to be elected next November by the votes of the women (we hope) and the men of the United States is now uppermost in the minds of the people, and talked of by all. It is absolutely essential to fix a tariff upon imports and to protect the working men and women, that they may not be compelled to take the kind of daily wages paid abroad, live upon the same classes of food, change their manner of living, their homes and their wearing apparel, and use child labor, as they do everywhere in the Old World. No more serious question than this faces the United States in the reduction of high prices—preserving to the American worker an adequate earning power of a day's work. This country must never go down to the European basis of labor."

Reverting back more than 50 years, to the expression used in his early advertising during the Civil War, he said on April 22, 1920:

"'There is a good time coming' is an expression used by Sir Walter Scott in 'Rob Roy,' and it has always been a favorite saying of the Scotch people. As soon as the Armistice was determined upon, on November 11, 1918, the whole United States took a long stride to bring on the good time coming. The deeply-to-be-regretted differences of our leaders in Washington have left us high and dry on the rocks of uncertainty. The few rich people who can take care of themselves have had to bear the losses of depreciated Liberty Bonds, by which the government got money to win the war. The millions of poor people who wrought and scraped together all the little money they had and took the Liberty bonds have been the greatest sufferers by having to sell their

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bonds to speculators who have made them lose an average of ten per cent. of their earnings. The Treasury of the United States must make up these losses by a provision to keep Liberty Bonds at par so that whatever is left in the Old World will climb over through its owner for the United States bonds, the best security in the world. There is a good time coming, and coming soon, if we stand together and labor to bring it on."

After Warren G. Harding was elected President of the United States in November, 1920, Wanamaker suggested, on December 9, certain reductions in taxation to bring the country back to a peace basis.

"The United States in putting an end to an evil war can never consent to any diplomacy that will plant the seeds of another war. Government red tape must be cut quickly for the recovery of misspent monies and for the sale of Government stocks on hand of materials of every sort and condition to provide cash to pay debts. There should be at once an immense reduction in the Government employees for whom no work honestly exists. Bills should be passed quickly to retire the Liberty Bonds which have become burdensome to the people who took them with their small savings and cannot suffer any longer. Special taxes on sales should be removed to cheapen necessities of life. The entire high cost of living can never get down largely until the needless taxes on articles are removed."

A few days after the inauguration of President Harding, Wanamaker said on March 10:

"Four Presidents of the United States, it is said, left these last words:

HIS WAR-TIME CRUSADE

"President George Washington—"It is well."

"President John Quincy Adams—"Independence forever."

"The first President Harrison (grandfather of President Benjamin Harrison)—"I wish you to understand the true principles of government. I wish them carried out. I ask nothing more."

"President Zachary Taylor—"I have tried to do my duty."

"And President Abraham Lincoln, in the famous speech at Gettysburg, spoke these famous words: 'This nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.'

"The beginning of the administration of Warren G. Harding as the twenty-ninth President of the United States marks the initiation of the most portentous period in the history of the United States with its future relation to the world."

CHAPTER XVIII

HIS LAST CAMPAIGN

THREE years before the World War, on November 16, 1911, John Wanamaker had said: "There is a time surely not far off when the high cost of living must be cut down. The rumbling of the discontent that crosses the ocean to us ought to be a suggestion of what is apt to happen here in the near future."

Considered high in 1911, the cost of living was to more than double itself before coming down. From 1911 to 1914 prices advanced about fifteen per cent. From 1914 to 1916, with the war going on in Europe, they advanced another fifteen per cent. In 1917 when America entered the war, prices took an upward leap of more than thirty per cent.

At this time the national government was attempting to regulate and lower the prices of food stuffs, coal and steel. John Wanamaker decided to see what he could do as a merchant to halt the rising prices of personal and household commodities in which he traded. He had at command a powerful weapon in the form of his two great stores. He had the background of leadership in store-keeping. He had the attention and confidence of the people.

On October 22, 1917, he struck the first of a series of blows that were to have a great effect, first in slowing down the rapid rise of prices, then in halting them, finally bringing

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about a deflation that appreciably lowered the high cost of necessities.

The first blow was in the form of a "Million Dollar Sale" offering a million dollars of the stores' merchandise, direct from regular stocks in all sections, at greatly lowered prices—saying to the public:

"Carrying on the war-time policy of the government as applied to food stuffs, coal and steel, we take the lead to regulate rising prices of dry goods, fashions and home furnishings"—adding: "Labor is paid in full; our salespeople will get their full return for their work done."

"We call upon manufacturers to prove that they are just as patriotic as those manufacturers who have accepted the government price for their product and voluntarily to sell goods to us and to other distributors to the consumer on a basis to drive prices to the people down to a fair, equitable basis. We offer to take from manufacturers, on that basis, all the goods of our standard grades that our two stores and our mail-order business can handle, and to pay cash for all we take." The sale proceeded for several weeks. On November 1 the store announced that "manufacturers are coming forward with goods—rates are lower—savings are increased. The drive goes on."

A second "Million Dollar Sale" was announced on November 3, 1917:

"We are trying to put check reins on the wild horses of speculators and certain makers of dry goods, wearing apparel and house furnishings, who have steadily ridden rough-shod over the public for three years and more, raising prices higher and higher. It is, however, fair to say that

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scarcities of raw materials, high wages and the demands of the government to clothe and feed millions of men have had something to do with the advanced prices. But there is a limit to everything and we believe this to be a good time to stop the further soaring of prices."

In the following year, prices still continuing to climb, John Wanamaker inaugurated a new series of million-dollar sales, saying on October 21, 1918: "like their predecessors these are a further effort to reduce and stabilize prices."

For more than a year he continued to hammer away with special sales to halt the constantly rising cost of living. The government continued its efforts. But as the year 1920 opened prices were twice as high as they were in 1914. "We must strike a still heavier blow," Wanamaker said. Conferences were held with his associates. Plans were offered. Finally after an all-day conference it was decided to offer the entire stocks of both stores—everything at reduced prices. The suggestion was made that a sliding scale of discounts be arranged—10 per cent on staples, 20 per cent on fashions and seasonal goods, 30 per cent on novelties, thus attempting to guide the sale of the goods in an even manner. "We are not a 10, 20 and 30 cent store" was Wanamaker's comment, and with his son Rodman, he went to the core of the matter—"we'll do the thing that is of the greatest service to the public, we will strike the heaviest blow in our power to bring down prices, without thought of the effect on our stocks,"—and he decided to offer a flat deduction of 20 per cent on everything in the entire twenty million dollar stocks in both stores. "Keep these plans absolutely secret," he said;

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"Don't tell a soul, not even the other store managers. Not a price must be altered. When the public come to the store Monday morning (it was then Saturday evening), they must find everything as it is now—and then they can deduct 20 per cent from everything they buy."

That word "deduct" gave the name to the sale that followed—it was called the "20 per cent deduction sale." Wanamaker himself wrote the first announcement. It was taken to the papers late Saturday night, with a pledge of secrecy from them, and when published Monday morning it fell like a bombshell not only on the two cities, New York and Philadelphia, but on the entire country which soon heard the news by telegraph, mail and word of mouth. Foreign countries were also notified by cable and radio. The sale became a world-wide trade sensation.

"At this particular moment when the highest financial authorities point out the probability of still higher prices," said Wanamaker in his advertisement, "we believe that we have an incumbent duty to at least try to do something for our customers to help them bear the excessive burdens of the hour, and to continue the effort initiated by our Million Dollar Sales in 1917 to break the backbone of high prices. Therefore with but one reason only, that of a conscientious sense of duty, the Founder puts at the disposal of the public for a limited time, beginning today, twenty millions of the best merchandise that has been bought for cash,—not selecting a few articles here and there at lowered prices at the end of a fashion season, which is usual, but by offering the full retail stocks of both our stores in New York and Philadelphia—from end to end and from top to bottom (saving,

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say, \$50,000 or less worth of articles taken in with restrictions we cannot honorably change) *—at 20 per cent deduction from actual prices, the deduction to be made at time of purchase. Further, in order to influence manufacturers and speculators holding goods for higher prices who may be in want of money at this time when they find it is scarce and at high rate of interest, we now hereby agree to expend one million dollars each week in taking over any desirable merchandise and paying cash for it the day of delivery in order to continue these sales, hoping thereby with this great outlet to begin grading down prices if even a little. We pledge ourselves to give our customers every advantage possible in keeping up the sale by means of any reductions we can get from the manufacturers in expending this money.

"In one sense," he continued, "this all means that we are, by these privileges, taking our valued customers into co-operation with us to effect a great purpose. We are simply mastered by a spirit of duty to help the people who have helped us in this renewed effort to start a movement in lowering selling prices of merchandise and bring on more quickly the 'better days coming' to this nation."

The sale opened Monday, May 3. It gathered immediate headway in Philadelphia where for 60 years the people had known John Wanamaker to do the unusual thing. In New York the public was a little slow in responding. "Can it be," they said, "deduct 20 per cent from everything?" But in a few days, New York woke up, and bought even more largely than Philadelphia.

The Saturday of the first week set a world's record for

*Prices arranged by manufacturers.

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volume of sales in a retail store. On that one day alone, without any back or advance orders from other days or accumulated mail orders, there was actually sold in the two Wanamaker Stores more than a million dollars of merchandise.

Amazement and happiness were written in the faces of every one who attended the sale. "They're handing out money at Wanamaker's," one man exclaimed to his friends. "Yes, real money, go see for yourself; they handed me back 20 per cent on everything I bought."

"I feel conscientious about this movement," another remarked. "I feel that every person who is really interested in preventing high prices should go out of their way to help the idea along. In my case, I have come many miles for something I could have bought elsewhere; and although my purchase is small I am willing to go out of my way to patronize a store that sets an example like this. If all women would do likewise the movement would be far-reaching in its result."

A war widow wrote to the store: "I wish to thank you for attempting to bring down the very high prices existing at the present time. I am a widow since 1917, the mother of five children under nineteen years, and it is certainly a struggle to feed a family properly and dress them so they can have self-respect going to business or school. There are hundreds, I believe, like myself. Your 20 per cent reduction campaign against the H. C. of L.* is attracting great attention all through this northern tier of counties, and your ads are better than the editorials in the papers you run them in."

A letter from northern New York said: "You are at the

* High cost of living.

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meat of the matter and I sincerely hope you will receive the coöperation of our loyal merchants all over the country. If your example induces them to follow, you have done the greatest service to the country that has been performed since the signing of the Armistice."

Merchants came to see and were astounded. "I've been in business 36 years in New York, and I have never seen anything like this," said one of them as he viewed the great crowds.

As in the early days of the Grand Depot in Philadelphia, the stores' advertisements repeated the people's comment, even when it was suggested that John Wanamaker was about to fail and that he needed money, or that his profits must be high. For example, this advertisement:

A saleswoman was laughing as she hurried to get a package wrapped. "What do you think the lady asked me—whether it was true that John Wanamaker had failed and was selling out all his goods?" I said to her: "It looks as though he is going to sell out all his goods, but it certainly does not look much like a failure around here"—indicating the huge crowds.

"Fake sale" says a man. "There isn't a price changed. I was here Saturday and the prices are just what they were then." Exactly so. He couldn't give the sale a better indorsement. Of course, we haven't changed a price; the 20 per cent is taken off each price at time of purchase.

"You must have been making a big profit to be able to do this," writes a woolen manufacturer. We wrote over the face of the letter and sent it back to him with these words: "Our profit for the past four years averaged less than 5 per cent on the sales—less than 5 cents on the dollar. Can you say the same about your business?"

"Guess John Wanamaker needs the money," insinuates one

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visiting merchant, who can't understand it all. "Well, I have just come back from my trip abroad," replies one of our merchandise buyers, who happens to be talking with him. "I bought larger stocks than I ever bought before and I paid cash for everything." Yes, and we offer to buy for cash a million dollars of goods each week if manufacturers will meet us half way in this effort to force down prices.

Soon merchants in various parts of the country began adopting the Wanamaker plan, offering their stocks at 20 per cent less. "We have taken up the same movement here," telegraphed a store in another city. "May we reproduce your story locally, giving you proper credit for what good it will do to bring others to the same viewpoint?"

A New England store in adopting the plan, said: "The Wanamaker bombshell has caused a sensation the like of which has not been known in the dry-goods world in many years."

"For the first time in my seventeen years' experience, I have quoted the name of another retailer in my advertising," said a Pennsylvania merchant in announcing that he would follow the Wanamaker Stores and reduce prices on his entire stock.

"We point to the action of John Wanamaker of New York and Philadelphia, one of the greatest merchants in the east," said a western Michigan store in its advertisement, "as our beacon light . . . and we feel that it is our conscientious duty to follow the lead set by him."

"It is going to be a sorry time for the Hoarders and Profiteers," announced a 5 cent store concern which had followed the Wanamaker example and reduced prices 20

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per cent all around. "We're in it now, and expect to make sacrifices in order to make good to the public."

Even a clergyman followed the plan, one in Bridgeton, N. J., announcing: "Owing to the high cost of living, I desire to give notice that a liberal discount of 20 per cent will be given to all parties seeking to be joined in the bonds of matrimony, provided the fee justifies the giving of such a liberal discount."

The Associated Press sent over its wires from Chicago the statement that "a wave of price cutting in retail clothing costs, reaching from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific Coast, is reported. Dispatches from 24 cities in that territory told of promised reductions from 15 per cent to minus profit."

The New York World from its own correspondents reported that the "great price-cutting wave" included such towns in the West as Topeka, St. Louis, Tacoma, Seattle, San Francisco, Omaha, Minneapolis, Knoxville, Oklahoma City, San Antonio and Waco where reductions were from 20 to 50 per cent.

The New York Times announced the "price-cutting wave in East and West—from Boston to San Francisco—that a wide range of goods is now affected, and that in some cities it is resulting in a very sensible reduction of the cost of living."

The New York Tribune announced that bankers of the country attending a conference with the Federal Reserve Board in Washington, pledged themselves to help in the drive on high prices, Governor Harding (of the Board) stating that "it is evident the country cannot continue to

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advance prices and wages, to curtail productions, to expand credits, and attempt to enrich itself by non-productive operations and transactions without fostering discontent and radicalism."

The New York Evening Sun published "reports from the leading industrial centers where the necessities of life are produced to the general effect that the crest of the high prices has been reached, and in many instances passed. Nowhere is there found an indication that prices will be higher next fall and winter than they are now, and in most places it is indicated that a reduction is certain to come."

Actually thousands of stores throughout America—and in other countries, too, as far away as Australia—adopted the plan, and one day the Wanamaker advertisement reprinted a medley page of clippings that showed the universality of the movement. In the center was a cartoon from the New York *World* depicting John Wanamaker in the uniform of a baseball player, hitting a ball. The ball was labeled "high cost of living." The bat was marked "20 per cent reduction." The title was "knocking a homer."

Manufacturers joined in the movement, selling their goods not only to Wanamaker's but to other stores at reduced prices—and from these lowered prices the 20 per cent was still further deducted.

On May 20, The National Association of Manufacturers, with a membership of 5400, employing six million men and women, and producing between 75 and 80 per cent of the country's manufactured products, adopted resolutions stating: "We are in hearty accord with all sensible efforts to reduce prices of commodities, and to that end we urge our

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members to coöperate in all reasonable efforts to bring about that result."

Wanamaker, in his editorials in the store's advertisements, personally reported, from time to time, the progress of the sale and answered questions that arose. To a telegram from Winnipeg, Canada, asking if the sale is "a permanent policy to reduce stock in anticipation of a panic," he replied publicly on May 11:

"The impression that you have received regarding our 20 per cent horizontal deduction has misled you. For a limited time we are offering our stocks for retail at one-fifth off for no other purpose than to prevent sky-rocketing prices and cornering operations on the part of speculators who have been buying up both raw and finished materials and holding them to bring about exorbitant increases. Our stores in New York and Philadelphia closed on Saturday evening, May 1st, with their millions of articles bearing their original tags, and all these goods slept straight through Sunday with not a soul in the building except the watchmen, and when the doors opened on Monday morning, May 3rd, the advertisement in the newspapers was a complete surprise to everybody.

"But the announcement it made now seems to be in every mouth in America. Many clear-seeing merchants throughout the United States are already following our example with the result that the wholesale and manufacturing producers are steadying down to bring about a normal movement of merchandise with normal profits. Since our first announcement was made there have come encouraging re-

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ports of wholesome, increased production among the industries, with a calmer spirit on the part of labor, that too begins to see some relief from the increasing high cost of living."

On May 13 Wanamaker said:

"I am urged to say a few words about the wonderful operation that is in progress to give notice to speculators, who have been the instigators of high prices by cornering raw materials of every description and overruling in one way or another the limits of the time of the storage of food stuffs. Most assuredly the people have been very patient and have welcomed the patriotic effort upon which we entered last week, when not a single article in the store was exempt from the horizontal reduction that came on every ticket, except in the matter of a few reservations of little consequence, where an honorable understanding had to be observed. If some one had asked us to cut prices here and there, we would have pointed to our record of sixty years to show that we were not cutters of prices. Instead we put in everything we owned to back up the purpose that we had that the people should have a genuine opportunity to save one-fifth of the cost of whatever they bought of us. We are very much encouraged and we find a little sign here and there of manufacturers joining with us in the endeavor not to advance prices but to lower them in some instances.

"We are putting out the cash that comes in, large quantities of it, wherever we find the articles that are up to our standard, and in some instances the owners of them are making reductions to us, which we turn over to our cus-

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tomers by giving a new price, which includes any advantage that we have received in the making of these purchases for cash. We are not urging people to buy. We are simply giving them the opportunity and we shall continue to do so, being free to give notice any day when we have reason to believe that we have done our part. We are not so much intent on having a great sale as we are intense in our purpose to stand with the people back of us, to protest against further advances at first hand, or making goods scarce by keeping them in storage."

On May 17 he called the sale "something like a prairie fire" that is spreading over the country, saying: "A long-suffering people hails with satisfaction and support the beginning of a halt in further advances in prices . . . this movement which we had the privilege of leading from a sense of patriotic duty is spreading a leaven of hope through thousands of stores and workshops and in tens of thousands of homes."

On May 18 he said: "The whole country seems to be waking up to work down some of the cost of living. Now that the great hardships of high prices have been borne for so long, it seems only fair that the distributing storekeepers should join together to cut off all unnecessary expenses and cut down prices to no profits or to the smallest margin of profit for a time, and by every possible means to urge producers of goods to take less than the common war profits, when goods were scarcer than they are now. If only all the men will resume their former tasks and when claiming higher wages offer longer hours to add to production, we will all feel more cheerful. There are good signs of decisive

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progress in the past fortnight, and if all the critics would join in an honorable attack against advancing costs the great victory could be won."

May 20, he said: "In spite of timid reactionaries, this effort to set lower prices is telling favorably from the Atlantic to the Pacific Coast. A Wall Street daily circular reported: Underlying conditions are not right. Everything is artificial and fictitious, and it is inevitable that before there can be any further sound expansion in industry readjustments must take place. This price reduction begun by John Wanamaker is an important sign. It has only started the coming wave of deflation.' The Guaranty Trust Company of New York said, according to the *Sun-Herald* * of yesterday: "There is a general feeling that the series of price reductions sporadically announced in various parts of the country indicates the imminence of a movement that will carry business back to normal conditions.'"

Wanamaker's campaign ended July 4, 1920, when the 20 per cent deduction privilege was terminated. It had largely accomplished its purpose. Bradstreet's and Dun's Reviews for three successive weeks, June 12, 19 and 26, reported a recession in commodity prices and a downward trend in the wholesale market. The Harriman National Bank, the Mechanics and Metals National Bank, the National Bank of Commerce, all of New York, and the Philadelphia National Bank, reported that a decline in merchandise prices had at last begun.

* The New York *Sun* and *Herald* had now combined under the ownership of Frank Munsey.

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Even the Federal Reserve Board, always cautious, said on June 19: "Changes in prices that have taken place afford a basis that may broaden into a more far-reaching alteration in the essential price structure," and the Federal Reserve Report for the 9th District for May said: "The steadily accumulating evidence of the month declares that the peak of high prices has been reached and that a general break has occurred."

The *Monthly Labor Review* issued in April, 1922, by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor showed that the crest of high prices was reached in May, June and July of 1920, and that the recession began immediately following the John Wanamaker campaign.

CHAPTER XIX

THE DIAMOND JUBILEE

WITH his last crusade ended—bringing down prices after the war to lower the cost of living and prevent a business panic—two years of life remained to John Wanamaker. They were to be years of calm after the storm. He remained active in the business, though he presented as a free gift to his only living son, Rodman, both of his stores and their foreign holdings. He continued his writings. He still planned for the future. He retained keen interest in the affairs of the world and of his own business circle. He let down hardly at all in mind and body. But like a benediction on his life soon to close there came in 1921 his Diamond Jubilee—sixty years a merchant!

As usual he wrote reminiscently in the advertising, calling attention to the fact that it was a triple celebration—

1861—The foundation in Philadelphia.

1876—The beginning of a new era.

1896—Resurrecting the A. T. Stewart foundation.

And he added: "These three important periods made the retailing of merchandise in America the model which has been accepted as the best and reproduced most frequently the wide world around . . . it has been a long, hard climb year by year, day by day, to the heights whither we have come, but the high regard of the people and their encour-

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agement especially in 1920 have been far beyond our expectations."

He was still in Florida where he had been spending the winter. And unknown to him a Citizens' Committee of Philadelphia, headed by Mayor Moore, planned a testimonial luncheon. Upon his return it was held on April 26. On the same day the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed a resolution conveying "to Mr. Wanamaker the congratulations of the members of this body and our best wishes for continued health and added opportunities for good work" . . . proclaiming him "a leader in business and good citizenship."

To the luncheon President Harding sent by wire his "utmost appreciation of the services of Mr. Wanamaker as citizen and public official." William Jennings Bryan called him "America's greatest merchant . . . illustrating the possibilities in this land of the free . . . his political career illustrates a high type of citizenship—he takes time for patriotic duties . . . his personal life illustrates the beauty of Christian service."

Calvin Coolidge, then Vice-President, wrote of "this deserved tribute to a man who has been so prominent, not only in the business world but as an unselfish public servant and benefactor."

United States Senators joined in the tributes. Senator Penrose—his former political antagonist—spoke of him as being in "the forefront of the men of achievement of his generation." Senator Knox called him "not only one of Pennsylvania's greatest citizens but one of the greatest merchants of all times."

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Senator Edge of New Jersey telegraphed: "The name John Wanamaker has from my childhood days been almost like an inspiration."

Governor Sproul said: "Pennsylvania has no more representative citizen."

Judge Orlady, of the Pennsylvania Superior Court, spoke of him as "so radically different from other men in conception and achievement."

Calling him "the greatest merchant in all the world," Mayor Moore recalled "the boy who worked in the brick-yards and was proud of the seven cents he earned in a whole week," . . . whom "we escorted officially this morning down the great thoroughfare upon which fronts the wonderful building he has since reared . . . at Sixth and Market streets doffing our hats to the man who started there on sound business principles sixty years ago . . . a span of business life rare in any community . . . leading this Philadelphia-born boy to the shrine of American liberty and there handing to him, so far as we had the power, the freedom of the city he loves" . . . adding "by industry he won, but not by industry alone—under the house he reared was a foundation of integrity, of justice, of morality, of fair dealing . . . and he is still at work, each day on the job, preferring to wear out rather than rust out."

Mayor Hylan of New York said: "To New Yorkers the name of John Wanamaker is synonymous with character and kindness . . . character noted for its simple, plain, unaffected honesty . . . rugged honesty which has gripped the hearts of all who know him . . . the sincerity and truthfulness of the man permeate his handiwork, and the great

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institutions he has reared breathe the spirit of their founder."

Alba B. Johnson "voiced the esteem in which he is held by the trade organizations, of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce and of the Pennsylvania Chamber of Commerce" . . . adding "it might be said that he was the originator of modern advertising" . . . and "due to his business pioneering the clothing barker is happily extinct . . . and the old methods of bargain and sale have disappeared."

James M. Beck in a flight of oratory, which was his habit of speaking, proclaimed him "one of the grand old men that have made Philadelphia the historic city that it is . . . Franklin, Morris, Girard, Paul Beck, Nicholas Biddle, Binney, Baldwin, Carey, the two Furnesses, Cassatt, Drexel, S. Weir Mitchell, Keen and last but not least John Wanamaker. Of all these men I venture to suggest that the one he most resembles in many respects is the first of the illustrious group, Benjamin Franklin. Each was a self-made man. Both started life humbly and were handicapped by small means. Each relied on his own strength and each gave sixty years of service to his community and became a leading citizen in his generation. Each was a merchant . . . Franklin's print shop also sold, as the advertisements of the times show, imported books and perfumed soap, legal blanks, Rhode Island cheese, Dutch quills and live geese feathers . . . each was interested in education, science and art. Each became Postmaster-General . . . each continued his public activities until a ripe old age . . . each was a born advertiser—Franklin originated the art of modern advertising and Wanamaker has perfected it by giving to advertising a

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literary tone and a news value . . . each was a great believer in the printing press . . . Wanamaker's daily advertising is often full of the same homely and useful wisdom as that of Franklin."

In reply to these encomiums Wanamaker turned to Cardinal Dougherty, saying, "I wish you would pinch me to see if I am awake," and then continued: "Will you let me ramble on a bit instead of making a set speech" . . . speaking from a full heart: "Mr. Mayor, your Eminence, my dear friend Mr. Beck, whom I helped to drift away from Philadelphia when we were together in Washington; my very much prized comrade, Dr. Krauskopf, and dear Mr. Stotesbury—he and I walked down York Road when we were boys, and have been working ever since—Mr. Hyland, whom I did not expect; the members of the Courts, especially the Supreme Court that adjourned to meet with us, which makes them brothers-in-law, I think, with me,—those of you have spoken so kindly, filling my eyes with tears, and choking my throat so that it seems too hoarse to detain you; those of you who have all come for the first time in your lives, spending your own money when I can't give you the value for it—how can I thank you?"

"I cannot imagine how you could have done what you have done today. I will show my own weak judgment of things by saying to you, Mr. Mayor, that if I had been at home at the time you and your friends planned this wonderful occasion, I should have done my very best to stop it, yet I deeply appreciate the time that you have contributed—you men of affairs, you men who have offices, and from

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whose desks the ideas and plans of life start, presidents of railroads and directors, the directors of those wonderfully improved banks that the country has at this time, financiers like Mr. Stotesbury, all of you men that are at a wheel that moves something,—and I feel grateful that you have come together and given me such a day as this. I cannot do much more than to tell you that the rest of my life will go out toward other men. I have never been jealous of other men or their business, and now I would like to give myself more and more to your sons and your brothers and to those that you care for.

“I said a few days ago, just to a few people, that I am no older today than I was when I was sixty. If anything, you have made me a little younger today. Life is a beautiful thing. Our Heavenly Father did not put us down here to mourn and lose ourselves in some kind of a fog. I recall a visit to the Vatican and to St. Peter’s at the time Pope Leo celebrated the silver anniversary of his Pontificate, and his ninety-second birthday. He was a beautiful old man. I happened to be in Rome at that time with General Patterson, and we together went to the ceremonies where one hundred and twenty-five thousand people gathered under the magnificent dome, not for a great affair of some sort, but as a solemn churchful of noble people. Well, the old Pope was very feeble and his friends were sympathizing with him about his health. One of his old friends came up to him and said, ‘Your Holiness, you look pretty well. You seem to have gotten over your ailments,’ and went on to compliment him and cheer him, and the friend said: ‘Why, I think you might live to be a hundred.’ The Pope was ninety-two. The

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little man, with his smiling face, his beautiful little hands, as I saw them folded over his breast, said: 'Why limit me?'

"I am so glad to get up in the morning and see the sun rise, and be thankful for the beautiful light—and I believe that the Father who made the sun that keeps the world in proper order and lights the heavens, and can do so without the help of Mr. Edison or any of us—He means to tell us every day that He will give us the light and comfort and help to see the things and to do the things. Life is indeed a beautiful thing. The world is unfinished. We are here to play our part in it. We want to make the best of our own lives.

"I think I would like to forget that I am speaking to men that have made successes; I only want to think of you as old comrades and friends that have gathered around me today, and have been so prodigal of your time as to spend so much of it with me. I never had a happier day in my life than today, when I was taken by the Mayor down to the Old Hall and saw anew the copy of the old Declaration as it is hanging there on the wall. I could not have said a word down there, but if one asked me what I did while I was there, I would say that I did just what Charles Wagner did, upon a certain occasion when he was here. I sent him off during the day to different places, including Independence Hall, and when he came back I asked: 'What did you do at Independence Hall?' With his eyes filling up with tears, he said: 'Why, it is a sanctuary.' He was a dear old man; I think the war broke his heart. Yet he was too young to pass away. The world needs such men.

"I believe that I have stood up very close to my friend,

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born in Pennsylvania, educated in Philadelphia, who has brought the greatest honor to the city and the state they have had for many years—his Eminence, the Cardinal. Yet I can remember the time when I came here as a boy and went up Fourth Street, and looked at the Catholic churches that the 'native Americans' (as they called themselves) set on fire. I can really remember the time when some Protestants would not speak to Catholics, and perhaps vice versa. I do thank God from my heart that I feel a friendship for this man that would lead me, I think, to do anything that he would ask me. I believe it is a good thing for all of us to get closer together, to get nearer to each other, and to know each other. The better we understand each other, the more we will do for each other.

"You made a reference—both of the speakers made a reference to the Post Office Department. I hadn't the slightest idea of ever going into politics . . . but General Harrison sent for me to go to Indianapolis, offered me a position in his cabinet—one of the 'easiest' secretaryships—but I said: 'I can't do it, I don't want a lazy place; if I take anything I will take the hardest place you have got,' and he put me in the Post Office Department. The best thing he ever did for the Post Office Department was to let me alone. I had my own way and did things along business lines. I said that the best food for the contentment of far-away people, not near to post offices, not near to newspapers, is the food of the postman, and that is the secret of the little boxes along the lanes, and I had just one idea about it—somehow to get to them the newspapers. Why do I tell you that? If I hadn't been a merchant, I would never have had the opportunity to

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do these things. It was the interest in the wants of a community that led me to do something, to try to make things easier and better, and that opened the door for the greatest experience I had in trying to minister to the people.

"We have a wonderful city. I hope we realize our birth-right—the good fortune to be born in the city where General Washington lived. I brought this old directory (shows old book), Stevens' Philadelphia Directory for 1796, one hundred and twenty-five years ago, and there is George Washington's name, just as a resident, in it—George Washington as living at 190 High Street. I feel that Benjamin Franklin is still walking about these streets—the invincible spirit of him. You cannot go into the Old State House without feeling the presence of the men that have not died. Thomas Jefferson isn't dead. Think of those great men that wrote the Declaration, or the Constitution. It seems to me that to let any city get ahead of Philadelphia is marking us down, because we have got the ability to keep it up. Our port isn't anything like it will be. I think that you will be so crowded if you don't make proper preparation for it that you will have to use both shores for docks for steamers.

"Philadelphia was once the first of the American cities, then it got to be second, and now it is the third, and after Mayor Hylan goes out and we get a chance at some other Mayor that doesn't do his work half as well, I think we can steal a little of the New York spirit and New York shipping. We have got the men, we have got the location, for the Sesqui-Centennial Exhibition. Why, dear me, I wore all my shoes out getting the first million dollars subscribed for the old Centennial. They put me on the Finance Committee,

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of which I am the only surviving member. Let's bring the world in to our Sesqui-Centennial, the discontented world, the jealous world, the unsympathetic world—let them come and see what our spirit is, let's greet them as friends, let's give them the opportunity.

"May I say to you, that America never had a greater opportunity. The most magnificent opportunity that any country ever had is before us, to celebrate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of a flag that means more than any other for the contentment and peace and hope of the world. I want to say to you, if you have a son or a brother, and he is just starting, and you think I can help him, I will be so delighted to tell him more of how each day gives encouragement when he is trying his best. I believe that what you have done for me today, so unexpected by myself, will have an influence, not only in this but in other cities, that we shall feel nearer to each other, wanting the other man to have the same opportunity and interest, 'with malice toward none and charity to all.' If you can't say a good word, hold your tongue—say the good word or say nothing.

"To return to the Sesqui-Centennial Exhibition. If you younger men will take it up, some of us will help you, and we will show you how the last was done. It was done by a very few men, but they gave themselves for it. You can light the cigar that you have with the little burning glass just by focussing the rays of the sun—I don't know whether the word is quite right—but I would like to say if you could *focalize* your energies, your brains, your time, you can do the greatest thing that could come to the world in the present generation. I would love to help you. I am sure I like to

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be here now with men that see the sense of things and want to put them into operation.

"I shall never be able to thank you for the inspiration that you have given me today, undeserved, I think, a great deal, so far as I am concerned, but I shall try to pass on everything that you have said that was cheerful, and instead of sitting down to cry, I shall try to whistle every time I come near you."

John Wanamaker never lost his spirit of practical optimism—he could always whistle!—nor his love for and faith in his beloved country. "I have more faith in America today and more expectation for the future than at any time in my sixty years as a merchant," he said to the press on September 28, 1921, when the fear of business depression was again in the minds of many. He was sitting in his private office of the New York Store, through the windows of which he could see the old A. T. Stewart Building across Ninth Street. "To show that these are not mere words of optimism for advertising purposes," he added, "let me tell you how we are backing our faith with actual deeds and expenditures, making investments for the future.

"Do you see that gray building across Ninth Street? A. T. Stewart, New York's foremost merchant of his day, built it fifty years ago and it has never been surpassed in arrangements, facilities, convenience, light, ventilation, and general service for store-keeping. Well, Stewart made that store the greatest in America. He started it in the gloomy reconstruction days after the Civil War and he never let his faith go down for a moment. Now in these other reconstruction

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days we are reviving in that old store the best genius that Stewart put into it. We are restoring it as nearly as possible as it was in Stewart's day. We are making it again America's foremost store.

"I left Philadelphia this morning at 7 o'clock when she was just getting awake, and when I reached New York at 9 I found the streets already bustling with eager people going about their work. The ferryboat must have had several thousand persons aboard. When I passed the *Leviathan*, which the Shipping Board now promises to restore and put into service again, I said: 'That's the keynote for the American people; get to work, get into service, do all you can.'

"How about the unemployment?" asked the reporters.

"There will be plenty of work for all if we show our faith, not by relaxing our efforts, holding back in fear, putting on blue glasses, and keeping our money in our pockets, but by making needed improvements, starting to build and rebuild, buying and selling—putting to work our energies, our brains, our monies—everything we have—for the good of the country.

"Instead of curtailing our advertising we are enlarging it. Instead of standing pat on our stores as they have been we are refitting, rearranging, rebuilding and improving them. To do this we have given employment to large bodies of mechanics and others day and night. Instead of cutting down our organization we are adding to it and building it up. We mean to be ready for the good times just ahead, and he who does not get ready is blind to the future of America.

"How can anyone be a pessimist about this country? Why,

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even France and England and Germany—all harder hit by the war than we—are putting us to shame in taking off their coats and getting to work. Money must come out of its hiding place—in banks and in the homes—and go to work along with our physical and mental energy—to build new homes, new stores, new factories, new businesses, new courage and new faith.

“A. T. Stewart showed the way in his day. When Ireland was suffering with famine he sent a shipload of food. When General Grant wanted to make him his Secretary of the Treasury and his enemies said he belonged to the money interests, Stewart replied: ‘I will sell out my whole store or give it away if necessary that I might serve my country.’

“Stewart only had a few real competitors in business—mainly Horace B. Claffin. Today New York teems with merchants and stores, which reminds me that when I first opened my big store in Philadelphia I repeatedly was threatened and I was urged to take around with me a bodyguard because the little merchants that I was supposed to be putting out of business might seek my life. If people only realized that business thrives on competition—all business—and that the people’s interests in getting better merchandise and lower prices are always improved when competition is unstifled!

“I feel that I have brought to New York more than I have ever taken away and the best example of this is my son, Rodman Wanamaker. We invested in these properties at Astor Place at a very low financial figure under great pressure to move uptown. We weighed the subject very carefully and preferred to set the new Wanamaker building by the

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side of the fine old Stewart structure and we now have a frontage on five streets of 2,022 feet, and a space for doing business, including the garage and warehouse on Broadway a few blocks south, of 38 acres—a good-sized farm.

“I also feel that I have a duty to a city that had in it such a great merchant as A. T. Stewart. It is noticeable that in almost every big city every man is for himself; he thinks only of his own interests; there isn’t much unity to make a great city greater; all are too busy with their own private interests. Well, if this cannot be overcome, then let every one get busy and do what he can for his own business, and in the end the whole community will benefit.

“This seems strange talk for a sleepy Philadelphian to give to wide-awake New Yorkers—but you see the virus of your great city’s energy has got into my blood.”

* * * * *

Having followed his life, listened to his words and measured his works as a merchant, we may now study more intimately this “sleepy Philadelphian” as a *man*; and, in the final chapters, analyze his *method*—in merchandising, in advertising, and in industrial education, in each of which fields he was America’s great pioneer.

BOOK II

THE MAN

"That man who forms a purpose which he knows to be right, and then moves forward to accomplish it without inquiring where it will land him as an individual, and without caring what the immediate consequences to himself will be, is the manliest of manly men."

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"Is there anything in the whole world half so good as being straight, right, and four-square, able to work hard, earn an honest living, look everybody in the face, and not be afraid of anybody or anything?"

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CHAPTER XX

JOHN WANAMAKER'S ORIGINATING PERSONALITY

ERECT in stature of nearly six feet. Weighing in his prime about 175 to 185 pounds, growing with the years a little heavier and bulkier. A ruddy but not florid complexion. Eyes grayish blue or bluish gray; clear, open and frank, except when musing or listening to a too-long talk of a visitor, when they would narrow and almost close as he quietly pushed the electric button on his desk, summoning a secretary who courteously terminated the visit. Hair of sandy or tawny shade, rather fine in texture and not thick, with no tendency to baldness, and without gray hairs showing before 50 years of age, and then turning only partially gray. Head wide and high over the ears. Clean shaven oval face, becoming somewhat full as he grew heavier. Nose fairly large, mouth and chin strong in their lines. Few wrinkles until late in life. Countenance sunny, with a whimsical smile mostly; one writer called the expression "cherubic—at times."

A friendly man, by nature. A solitary, by force of circumstances. He could meet people on their own level, high or low, learned or ignorant, noble or debased, because he felt the kinship of humanity. But he could not work with a board of directors because he had to be the board. In his church relations, sociable and companionable. In his busi-

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ness, approachable and sympathetic with all workers. Yet in control—in both fields—autocratic. He was not a “joiner.” His only fraternal association was Masonic. He would not join business associations, though he hid from no business anything that would aid its development, and in his writings he freely gave his experiences that would help all businesses. He lived largely alone because he lived ahead of others. Few can keep up with the eagle.

No life was lived more openly. He was before the people every week day in his stores' activities and advertising in which there was an intimate contact. Millions knew the merchant. Other millions knew the churchman, the citizen. Yet few knew the real man within.

People knew that he must have worked hard to achieve so greatly, but when they were told how indefatigably he worked they were frankly amazed. They thought it literally impossible that one man could do so much, could do so many different things so well. When he began writing his business editorials it was difficult to make people believe that he actually wrote them. “It can't be,” they said. “Where does he get all his ideas; how does he find them; how did he learn to write with so much charm and originality?”

As he grew old in years, people would remark: “You don't mean to say that John Wanamaker still has a close oversight of his business, that he is at the store every day and still directs and controls”—and when it was explained how very intimately he still knew and handled the details of the business, they would smile in unbelief.

In dedicating the Philadelphia Store President Taft said that the business had acquired a personality different from

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that of the Founder. This business personality is what the public largely knew. The human personality is another thing.

Physically weak as a boy, strong as a man, he lived to 84 years, working not six but seven days a week (in business and church), taking very little physical exercise after the age of 45, before which he and his wife would ride horseback—on two gray farm horses—on his estate at Lindenhurst.

Requiring no exercise or recreation himself, he was tardy in discovering the need of it in others. When an associate asked for an afternoon off he was given permission but in a sort of "are-you-ill" way. Before he died, however, he began to understand the philosophy of play and recreation, and one day he said to Aleck Findlay, often called the father of golf in America, who was one of his store family: "Come out to my house this afternoon and show me how far you can hit a golf ball—I think you've been exaggerating."

They went—of all things—before the store closed—to play!

Aleck teed up a ball. He hit it hard. There was a crash in a far-away corner of the grounds.

"What's that?" Wanamaker asked.

"It sounds like breaking glass," replied Aleck. "I hit the ball over the house, but I didn't know another building was back there."

"Yes, my greenhouse is there. But never mind. Hit another."

Aleck hit another ball. There was another crash.

Wanamaker was fascinated. He tried a club himself. He

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hit the ball fairly well. For a short time he took lessons. But the enthusiasm did not last. Business was more fascinating than golf. Yet he did not forget the experience. Although he had previously written: "This store work has the undivided attention of competent persons who do nothing else—no golf, no tennis"; he now wrote: "Outdoor exercise in tennis, croquet and golf counts tremendously for good and adds to efficiency of professional and business men and women"—and he began sending his people on recreation trips.

He was not a taskmaster; but he believed in the gospel of hard work. He knew from experience that business requires close, constant attention. "I don't mean that we shall be drudges," he told his people, "I don't mean that you shall not have pleasure. But I do mean that you cannot stay up every night until 12 o'clock and attend to your business the next day."

He never outgrew the old-fashioned habit, "early to bed, early to rise." When Postmaster-General he startled official Washington as much with his early opening of the office as with his non-service of wine at official dinners—the latter giving rise to the ditty that Elihu Root called the office seeker's hymn of 1889:

"The baby rules the White House,
Levi runs the bar,
Wanny runs the Sunday School,
And dammit here we are."

The baby was President Harrison's grandson, Baby McKee; Levi was Levi P. Morton, the Vice-President, who

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owned the Shoreham Hotel where liquor was sold though Morton was as much of a Puritan as Harrison and Wanamaker. The Sunday school was Bethany to which "Wanny" repaired every week-end.

At public and private office and at church and Sunday school he was always on hand early in the morning. He wrote: "The very smallness of the matter of being five minutes late makes it less excusable. Hurry is the child of unpunctuality, procrastination and irritability. To pay a fine for the five or ten minutes late would not be any compensation to a dozen other men kept waiting with other engagements to fulfill. We haven't any right to throw things out of gear. No one should be considered eligible for a place on a committee or board who is a chronic behind-timer."

By 8 o'clock he was usually at the store. When his chiefs grew lax and came late, he would take his stand at the door as an object lesson and await their arrival, if it kept him until 10 o'clock. As they arrived he would merely smile and say "good morning." They were not again late, at least not soon.

Mostly he spent the early morning hours in walking over the store. "I can see things better," he would say, "when not so many people are around."

When he went to New York, as he did at least once and often twice a week for many years, to give oversight to his business there, he would take the 7 o'clock train out of Philadelphia, boarding it at 7:20 at Elkins' Park, the station nearest his home.

His buyers took the 8 o'clock train.

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He would arrive in the New York Store about 9:12 and even this "twelve-minute lateness," as he called it, often fretted him. One day he seriously considered taking an earlier train out of Philadelphia. It was shortly before his death. He examined the railroad time-table and found that a train left Philadelphia at 5:30 in the morning, reaching New York about 8:30. But as there was no Pullman on the train he gave up the idea. It wasn't the discomfort of riding in a day coach that deterred him. It was the fact that he could do no writing during the trip. It was his custom when going to and fro between New York and Philadelphia to reserve two Pullman chairs. On one he spread his papers and books, and sitting on the other he would get through much work.

During his New York residence he would also arrive at the store early and stay late. One day when he was 70 years old he determined to inspect seriously the merchandise that had been in stock more than six months. He instructed his buyers to have it well forward the next day. His inspection began at 7 o'clock in the morning—"before the customers get here," he said—and ended at 1 o'clock that night. "I'll be with you again, to go into more particulars, at 7 o'clock to-morrow," he then said to his astonished and much fatigued associates.

"You would kill me in a year," he said to a friend* one day who suggested that instead of his working so hard he should get a yacht and spend six months a year on the Riviera—"Attending to business is my hobby, my love, my avocation. It interests me more than golf, or society, or even

* Paul V. Bunn.

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a yacht on the Riviera. Do you know, if I should quit all this work that I love, shift to others the responsibility of making each day's business a success, cease trying to make up today for the failures of yesterday—within one year I would be automatically crushed, like an empty egg-shell, and then I'd die!"

Though he worked most of his waking time, he diversified his work. When he went home at night he would leave his business cares in the office, taking up his Sunday school or church work, or reading a book. When he went to bed he slept soundly. On Sunday he would diversify his thought and energy by turning to religious affairs. He went to the theatre only once in his life, it is said, in London to "hear Sarah Bernhardt" as he wrote home. He was fond of music, and his son, Rodman, would occasionally bring some performers into his father's home—even minstrels and vaudeville performers, as on a Christmas eve. He enjoyed young people's gaiety and life. He was not austere. He was just a bit old-fashioned in some of his habits.

"Now that it is on my mind," he wrote in 1916, "I would like to say out loud that I believe I like best—

"Old-fashioned things.

"Old-fashioned men.

"Old-fashioned women.

"Old-fashioned songs and hymns.

"Old-fashioned flowers.

"Old-fashioned wood fires.

"Old-fashioned churches.

"Old-fashioned cooking.

"Old-fashioned manners."

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But while he liked old-fashioned things he was constantly reaching out for new ideas. "Ideas, ideas," he would say, "we must have new ideas." And when his associates went scurrying through their brains and came back to him with what they thought was a good idea they found usually that he had a better one.

His mind worked best when matching it with another mind. When he wanted to write an important article, he would often ask some one else to write it first. Then after reading it he would write his own, which would prove to be entirely different from the other.

In all things he was himself. He studied other men, other systems, other practices, other businesses. He adopted and adapted. But in whatever he did, in whatever he wrote, in whatever he said, was the personality of John Wanamaker. He deliberately planned originality—to do the unexpected thing or to do a thing in a different way. So much so was this true that some of his associates used to figure on the very opposite of what he was expected to do, and this opposite would be the best guess. In writing he even made it a practice not to begin a sentence with "the"—thus forcing himself to construct the sentence in an unusual and original form.

The Wanamaker handshake, which became quite famous at Washington during the Harrison administration, remained a Wanamaker handshake though others tried it to their regret. "The way he received every one," said an official of the time, "was most satisfactory, but the thing that delighted me was the beautiful manner in which he got rid of a visitor. His farewell handshake was courtesy and

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geniality itself, at the same time it was a gentle push toward the door. It was done in such a manner that nobody could possibly take exception to it." This official at a somewhat later period became governor of his own state and tried to introduce the Wanamaker handshake on his own account. He attempted the experiment first on an old political supporter, grasping his hand firmly, but with his best smile giving him a gentle push toward the door. But the result was not altogether what had been anticipated. The old political supporter stood stock still, gazed at the governor steadily, and then said: "It's all right, governor, if you want me to go, but I don't want to be thrown out." "It was the first and last time I tried the Wanamaker handshake," the governor afterwards explained.

"He can do it, but I don't believe there is anybody else in the world who has the subtle genius necessary to perform it successfully."

His handwriting was always unmistakably his own. It was unlike any other kind of writing. The letters, although joined together in a word, would not be on straight lines. They would rise and fall in a ragged but picturesque and almost uncopyable style. Early in life he signed his Christian name Jno. in the old-fashioned style. Later he always used the full name John. His handwriting remained firm until death. A letter written only a few months before he died looks like a copper-plate engraving—so steady and true was the hand that penned it. He was rather fond of writing by hand; he really liked the appearance of his penmanship. He also felt that a hand-written letter was more intimate and gave more pleasure to others. He once told his buyers: "To

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any personal letters that come from customers to me about the merchandise or service, although I have so much else to do, I always write a reply myself, even though a letter has gone from the store manager explaining what has been done. That is one of the things that has brought the business."

Referring to the change in his handwriting, he wrote in 1917: "Have you noticed the change in your handwriting since you left school? Looking over some three or four letters—one to a young fellow who was among the first volunteers in the war of 1861—every line seems to have had in it a ramrod and the dash of early enthusiasm. In another, advising a young friend just starting on his career in a little town in the country, every word curved up and down on the paper regardless of the lines, like a young horse prancing around a four-acre field. Can you remember the fashion of boys and men of early days who signed their names with a flourish, or a 'curlycue,' as it was then called? When you began to climb the hill of life how differently things looked. How soon we began to 'simplify one's baggage,' as my old friend Pastor Wagner once said to me. Does not the difference in our handwriting arise from a difference in ourselves which leads us to economize time and adopt the simpler ways as far as possible?"

Perhaps this is true. Certainly in early life John Wanamaker had a ramrod backbone, and a dash of enthusiasm, but he had these all his life. And he was often "a young horse prancing around a four-acre field"—his store. Later he did grow more sedate. He simplified his enthusiasm, but never lost it.

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His interviews were often startling as well as original.

"Am I as good as a dog?" he once greeted Stephen C. Berger, who came to ask him to renew his advertising in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* after an interval of discontinuance. "Am I as good as a canary?" he added.

Something must have happened to Wanamaker, was Berger's thought, especially as he continued: "Am I as good as a servant girl?"

Then it began to dawn upon Berger that there was a meaning in these cryptic questions and he recalled that there was a fight between the *Ledger* and the *Inquirer* in getting rates on want advertisements. Wanamaker was strongly reminding him that the *Public Ledger* was charging more for store advertising than for advertising dogs, canaries and positions for servants. When shown that the *Inquirer* printed free this class of advertising the discussion finally led to a resumption of his advertising in the *Ledger*—and when the copy reached the composing room the foreman rushed to his desk, rapped with his gavel and when the typesetters stopped work, said, "Boys, John Wanamaker is coming back into the *Public Ledger*." And they gave three cheers.

The next morning Drexel, the owner of the *Ledger*, sent for Berger and said: "Why didn't you tell me that Wanamaker had come back into our paper?"

"I didn't know it myself until 6 o'clock last night," Berger replied.

"Well," said Drexel, "my wife said she thought it was a funny thing that the owner of the paper didn't know an important thing like that."

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Wanamaker advertising was important not only to the *Ledger* but to all the newspapers and magazines of America. *Editor and Publisher*, a national newspaper magazine, credits John Wanamaker with inventing modern store advertising, which in turn led to national advertising by manufacturers, both developing into a volume of revenue which makes possible the modern newspaper and magazine. And Frank Presbrey, dean of American advertising agents, says in his book, "The History and Development of Advertising," published in June, 1929: "In the Wanamaker store in Philadelphia originated large-scale advertising, the advertising that went into pages and large expenditures, produced a huge volume of business and demonstrated for the directors' table of American business that advertising was a force worthy the attention of big minds . . . large national advertising began in the 80's when John Wanamaker had shown the way."

John Wanamaker was also a pioneer in modern publishing. He founded *Everybody's Journal*, the *Farm Journal*, and the *Ladies' Journal*—and later *Book News Monthly* to advertise his business. But it was his newspaper advertising, and his inauguration of the full-page spread now so much in vogue, that made possible the great newspapers and magazines of America, whose income is derived about two-thirds from advertising and scarcely more than one-third from circulation. But he was not in sympathy with overdone and sensational advertising, nor with the bulky newspapers as they now exist. He believed that news—accurate and unvarnished news—was the heart of both advertising and journalism. He felt that the people resented the extraordi-

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nary volume of advertising and the voluminous, unhandy bundles that the average newspapers have become; that they were tired of the big, flaming headline and sensationalism in both the advertising and the news columns. He was willing even to pay a higher rate per line for his advertising, if it would bring about a better balanced, a better edited, and more moderate size newspaper, realizing that in their bulky form neither advertisements nor newspapers themselves were getting the careful reading that they formerly enjoyed, and that both were thus failing to render their full service to the public. The Sunday newspapers which were really the inspiration of the bulky daily newspapers with various departments and feature pages in addition to the news, he did not like nor would he advertise in them, not being willing to intrude his business in the home on the Lord's day. He even went so far as to place a record on the minutes of Bethany that "Elder Wanamaker felt greatly perplexed and embarrassed by the determination of his son, Thomas B. Wanamaker, to issue a Sunday edition of the *North American*" . . . that "he had gone so far as to offer to purchase from his son the property of the *North American* that he might be able to control the policy of the paper or to make good any supposed financial loss that might result from the abandonment of the purpose."

CHAPTER XXI

HIS MILITANT CITIZENSHIP

WHEN speaking at a public dinner, upon an occasion late in life, John Wanamaker drew from his pocket a small Bible in order to read a quotation. As he opened the Book a small American flag fell to the table. The *Bible* and the *American Flag*! It was then disclosed that they had been his inseparable companions through life.

"The American Flag," he wrote on Flag Day of 1919, "is bigger than any territory, more powerful than any political party, and its principles link it to a religion of duty and life broader than any creed. To live it and be for what it stands is next to the love of God."

"John Wanamaker, Citizen," was the signature to his business editorials when they touched on public questions of moment. It was a title he was proud to use. It had great meaning. It was not an empty phrase. To him citizenship, and especially American citizenship, implied not alone the highest honor that can be conferred on a free individual. It carried with it a sense of the highest responsibility. Citizenship to him meant patriotism—militant patriotism. He never shirked his duty as a citizen. Instead, he went out of his way to meet this duty. It was more than a duty. It was his right, his inalienable right as a free-born American to take part in public affairs that involved the welfare of his city, his state, his country.

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He was a life-long Republican, never voting for any other party candidate for President, from Lincoln to Harding. But he was not a hidebound partisan. He voted the Republican national ticket because he believed in its policies and candidates. In local politics he was an independent. He once said:

"When I was in the South last winter I said to a number of business men: 'The trouble with the South is that it is too strongly Democratic.' Of course, they immediately sat up and seemed to resent the statement. But then I added: 'The trouble with the North is that it is too strongly Republican.' And I explained that the country is suffering in various sections from intense partisanship, and that what it needs is real patriotism. I said I have hardly seen anywhere in the South a statue of Thomas Jefferson or one of Grover Cleveland, one of the greatest Presidents we ever had. I would like to subscribe to a fund in every city of over 100,000 in the South that would erect a good statue of Robert E. Lee, one of the greatest men the United States ever produced. These seem strange statements for me to be making. You have always thought I was a Republican. Well, I am, but I am a Lincoln Republican—one who puts country before party."

Here is the creed of John Wanamaker's citizenship—"One who puts country before party." "We ought to be worth something to our nation and the city where we reside," he said. "When some worthy or wealthy individual's life has come to an ending, the talk is all of his estate, his bank and other stocks and his bonds and mortgages."

"Far better would it be were it known that after we have finished this earthly course we should be valued for what

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we did for our city, its schools, its hospitals, its poor, blind and afflicted people."

After the Great War he said: "It will never again be so much what a man does as what he is and what he is striving to be in his family and civic life. In the recent war men of every nation, rank of life, education, worldly station, mechanics and laborers, marching side by side under their country's flag, did much to iron out the differences of position and *level us up*. To live the truth with good sense and good humor, and do our work, is enough for good citizenship."

Apart from his church and Y. M. C. A. work, John Wanamaker's first activity as a citizen came, as we have said in an earlier chapter, as first secretary of The Christian Commission, often called the "Mother of the Red Cross," organized in 1861 with the endorsement of President Lincoln, "to promote the spiritual and temporal welfare of the soldiers in the army and the sailors and marines in the navy, in coöperation with the chaplains and others."

During the five years preceding the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia he was, as we have seen in Chapter VI, in the forefront of all the perplexing preparations—sending petitions by wheelbarrow and cartload to wake up the city councils to make necessary appropriation; making plans and "drives" for personal subscriptions as a member (the youngest and most active) of the Centennial Board of Finance and the chairman of the "inside" finance committee and of the bureau of revenue; even urging his fellow citizens to take pick and shovel to Fairmount Park and "dig" when it

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seemed impossible to get the buildings started in any other way; making national appeals and "selling" the exposition to the country at large as chairman of the press committee; serving as chairman of the memorable celebration at Independence Hall, July 4, 1876,—then, with his work done and the Exposition a success, retiring to his business, leaving to others the management and credit of America's first world's fair.

A decade later he opposed and thwarted the lease of the gas works in Philadelphia except at proper remuneration to the people. And later he made an exposure of the so-called Philadelphia traction steal, offering to pay two and a half million dollars for franchises being doled out free.

As Postmaster-General in the Harrison administration, John Wanamaker accomplished so much "by never doing the same thing twice," as he expressed it. To the conduct of the department he applied not only business hours and business sense, but the zeal of a patriot without politics.

"I have no ambition to be other than a good Postmaster-General," he said, "it is not reasonable for me to suppose that I can make myself great in the rôle of statesmanship. My whole training has been that of a business man, and while I might perhaps hope to make myself a great merchant, I could hardly expect to succeed more than ordinarily well in an untried field. I accepted the Postmaster-Generalship with a desire to do what good I could for the country, and because I believe it the duty of every American citizen to take part in such administration of the government as comes to him."

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To the postmasters at a conference, Wanamaker said: "Gentlemen, you want to run your post offices as if there were another fellow across the street competing with you, and you were trying to get all of the business."

To a Philadelphia *Record* correspondent very early in his experience at the Department, he said: "I want to keep the mail bag open to the latest possible minute, then get it to its destination in the shortest possible time, and then get each separate piece of mail to the person for whom it is meant in the quickest possible way."

To Postmaster Hart of Boston, he said on one occasion: "If there is any man in your post office who thinks he has reached the limit of perfection, he ought to retire. What is wanted are men who propose and expect to do better tomorrow than they are doing today."

To a citizen in Denver he wrote: "Anyone who aids in improving the postal service by pointing out defects, or by making suggestions, performs an act of good citizenship and is a friend of good government, and especially of the Post Office Department. The proper course to be pursued whenever there is mismanagement of any post office, or whenever additional facilities seem to be needed, is for a few persons to address the Department over their own signatures, stating the facts. Such communications will receive prompt and careful attention."

Of the postal system he said in one of his annual reports: "The people simply want the system administered with such efficiency and economy that it shall offer them more and more accommodations and tax them less. The only method I can suggest by which all their desires may be gratified, is

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not merely to talk about the application of business principles to the Department; it is really to apply them."

Wanamaker's record as Postmaster-General includes the establishment of sea post offices, the creation of rural free delivery, the enlargement of the free delivery service in towns, and the abolition of mail privileges of lotteries. In addition, he reorganized the entire postal service of the Pacific slope, increased mailing facilities for cities in remote parts of the country and established city tubular post routes. He also advocated better roads to facilitate mail deliveries and publicly championed the establishment of the postal telegraph, postal savings depositories and the parcel post. He was a constant worker for American shipping and made the contracts whereby it became possible to push forward substantially the building of ships bearing the American flag. He abolished Sabbath employment in the post office buildings in Washington and materially reduced Sabbath work throughout the entire service. And his pat reply when asked to give the reasons why the nation did not have a parcel post system—"There are five reasons: The Adams Express Company, the American Express Company, the Wells-Fargo Express Company, the United States Express Company and the Southern Express Company"—did much to unify and crystallize public sentiment for the parcel post so that it became a reality in President Taft's administration.

Upon the opening of the Philadelphia Parcel Post Station January 1, 1913, he was asked by Mayor Smith to be the first patron, in recognition of his long-continued fight for the service. Upon that occasion he said: "The nation was chained twenty years to the express companies"—and then

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urging "postal telegraph next," he added: "Let us not be chained for twenty years to telegraph corporations."

Modestly Wanamaker summed up his Washington record in these words:

"I have been on the Parcel Post Turnpike since 1889 when I made an earnest and urgent argument for it in my first annual report to President Harrison. The possibilities of the postal system to settle up the sparsely populated sections of the country, compel construction of roads for mail deliveries, and contribute to the contentment and prosperity of the nation by mail services, are beyond any arithmetical calculation. There were five postal things concluded under President Harrison's administration:

"Anti-lottery act; American shipping act, adding four great steamers as naval vessels under the American flag; international post offices, assorting mail on ocean ships; city tubular post routes; rural free delivery."

Colonel A. K. McClure, famous editor of the *Philadelphia Times*, summarized Wanamaker's achievements in this terse sentence: "His record has rarely been equaled and never surpassed in any important qualities of statesmanship."

But apart from his service as Postmaster-General, Wanamaker's greatest contribution as a citizen was in leading the people's fight in Pennsylvania against United States Senator Quay, combating the political machine and arousing a public sentiment that eventually brought about its destruction. It was one of the outstanding triumphs of his life. He was victorious in his own defeat. He failed to become Senator or Governor, but he set in motion forces that smashed the ma-

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chine and freed the state, for a time at least, of political domination that was almost as notorious as the régime of Boss Tweed in New York.

A few excerpts from 67 speeches he made in 72 days will serve to show the Wanamaker brand of militant citizenship.

"I have not wanted to be a candidate (for Governor) he said——" "I am neither deceived nor influenced by false hopes and know full well what my prospects of success are; with the delegate-electing machine in the hands of the enemy; with primaries and conventions so manipulated as to defeat instead of register the will of the voter— . . . I am no more moved by these conditions than by the rumored deals of politicians, the threats of character assassins, the tongue of slander, or the fact that nearly one-third of all the delegates to the next state convention have already been elected. I ignore all personal considerations, I accept your invitation as a call of duty, and making the issue one of principle, not spoils, I am ready to go forward with you in your battle for political emancipation, convinced that the right will ultimately triumph. . . . When the people rise they are all powerful to declare the end of misgovernment of cities and states. . . . Somebody must begin. I am ready to do my part. The fight must be fought to the finish if it takes all summer, with autumn and winter thrown in."

In later speeches he added: "Malice and meanness will not deter me. I shall turn the other cheek when one is cut too deep. I think we shall be victorious. It does not follow that you should ever call me Governor but if it comes about

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that I am elected I give you notice that I shall attend to the business of the State 313 days in the year and all day with as much devotion as I ever attended to my private affairs. . . . I am personally free from all political environments or claims. I stand up alone your servant, untrammelled, absolutely free and ready to serve the State if it needs me."

In the senatorial campaign he said:

". . . However much others may want office I know one man who does not. I came to you in 1896 and spoke upon tariff and finance and McKinley and though I knew the Senatorial election was approaching, I never opened my lips to you on the subject because the questions I discussed were so much larger than anything personal to myself. The political situation is everything; men are secondary. . . . To a man 59 years of age, who has a mercantile office most agreeable to him, it is of small consequence how an election turns, but to the people who are borne down with taxes and schemes to pilfer the treasury, by broken promises of reform, by defeats of useful legislation, by obstructing for years and finally defeating lawful apportionment (of electoral districts), by the hiding of actual facts of broken banks to shield unlawful practices, by concealment of the places of deposit of large sums of the sinking-fund public money; by these and much more of evil work are the people of the state made sufferers as well as losers of property. . . . The people are longsuffering, much occupied and easily fooled, but there is a limit to all things, and we are today in Pennsylvania walking close to the edge of Republican ruin."

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That he was subjecting himself and his business interests to grave danger in taking up this fight against Quay, John Wanamaker well knew. He said in one of his speeches:

"It is a fact, though a Pennsylvanian should blush to say it, that any person who may try to protect the honor and guard the interests of his state by opposing the Quay machine, takes his business interests, his reputation and almost his life in his own hands. No sooner does a man show independence and refuse to indorse the misdeeds of the political machine than he is taken in hand to be disciplined. If he is the employee of a corporation he is threatened with discharge. If he is a merchant he is boycotted. If he is a clerk, the head of the firm is notified that he must be suppressed. If he is interested in a corporation, the company's interests are threatened. If he is a director or stockholder in a bank, large customers are found to threaten the withdrawal of their business. If he is a physician, good patrons object. If he is a lawyer, his clients are given orders and they threaten to leave him. If he is a preacher, members of his congregation protest. If a man, daring to be independent of political dictation, is in debt, he is threatened by those who hold his obligations.

"This is not the result of accident but of method.

"But there is a class of men beyond these influences that the machine must reach. They are men who have to their credit long years of honorable profession and business records. . . . To influence these men is set in motion the character-torpedo, the reputation-smirching and the good-name-destroying machine. . . . The blackmailer begins to operate. The most contemptible of human beings—the anonymous

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letter writer—starts his miserable work. The scandal peddler, a moral outcast, labors systematically to poison with innuendo, insinuation and base lies. Detective agencies, composed of low thugs and tools, are hired at great expense to dog the footsteps of those who dare work against the machine. They are paid to fabricate stories, invent false accusations, and furnish false evidence against any one whom the machine may wish to destroy . . . the youth or the aged are not spared. They do not care for the gray-haired mother of innocent children, and this is why men dare not fight. Any man who enters the arena of Pennsylvania politics to-day against the machine will not escape it.”

The last sentence was prophetic. John Wanamaker was subject to the very attacks he here enumerated. He was attacked by character assassins, scandal whisperers, blackmailers, until all sorts of venomous stories were told about him. But he came out of the poisonous onslaught unscathed and unsullied because he met the attacks openly and freely with prompt publicity.

John Wanamaker's indictment against Quay and the machine in this whirlwind campaign may be summed up briefly in these extracts from his speeches.

“The story is a long one,” he said, “forty years long. It is the work of a triumvirate—father, son and pupil. (He referred to the elder Simon Cameron; to his son, the younger Cameron; and to Quay, the pupil) . . . For forty years the politicians have been building great walls to shut out inquiry, and have been erecting almost insurmountable barriers to hide their official delinquencies and criminal acts.

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... When this condition of affairs was made plain to me I determined to organize an investigating army to attack these almost impregnable machine fortifications."

"... Two wars threaten the American people today—Spain and Quay. (The Spanish War over Cuba was imminent.) One is a national question in which Pennsylvania is interested. The other is a Pennsylvania question in which the nation is interested—Quay stands not as an individual, I have no quarrel with him personally, but as a representative of the state machine and defiant fortified leader of public affairs."

As the campaign proceeded, Wanamaker was criticized even by some of his own adherents for not using the political methods of the day. "You are not a politician," they said.

"I know it," he replied; "there are men, if I were to shut my eyes and wad my ears, who would come into Montgomery county tomorrow and meet boodle with boodle. Not a cent of mine or of my friends shall go to purchase a vote or influence a newspaper. . . . I never gave a man a dollar to buy a vote for me, and never authorized directly or indirectly, or winked at the purchase of a vote for me, not even by the bribing of a man with an appointment of a place in my store, which I could have done, and was frequently appealed to do. . . . That man does not live who can truthfully say that I hired a man or permitted a living being to pay any money in the senatorial election campaign as bribes, and if any man was so paid, which I do not believe, it was and is and always will be without my consent and against my instructions."

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"... It has been said that Wanamaker is a very poor politician. I believe the statement is entirely correct. I became a candidate (for governor) against the advice of my political friends at a time when I could not safely count upon the vote of a single delegate in the state. When I told the people, and told them honestly, that I did not want to be governor, my political friends said I had made an awful blunder. When I made speeches in counties that I knew would elect delegates against me, my political friends said my course was well-nigh suicidal. When I criticized laws that unjustly discriminated against the weak and in favor of the powerful, my political friends said it was poor policy. When I said that the corporate trusts of the state were usurping other's rights and robbing the people, my political friends predicted that the corporations would unite and crush me. When I said that beer was the most legitimate subject for taxation, my political friends said that brewers would expend millions to defeat me. . . . When I struck at every ugly head that I found exposed, without fear or favor, my political friends said that politicians would become afraid to trust me and would not dare to give me their support. . . . My policy had been at almost constant variance with my political friends. According, therefore, to modern political science and methods, I must have made an awful mess of that campaign. . . . But if I have made mistakes it is all right. The election of delegates for me has been secondary to the real purpose of my campaign. I accepted the commission from the hands of the Bourse meeting, and that commission did not command me to advance the political fortunes of Wanamaker but to try to free Pennsylvania from

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a reign of political tyranny and help to save the Republican party from threatened destruction.”

After his defeat Wanamaker said:

“If I had been elected Senator (he was first a candidate for U. S. Senator, then for Governor) I would probably be in ignorance still of the cesspools of Quay politics. I firmly believe that my defeat was providential and that a great guiding power made me see it as a duty to sustain and protect those of the 76* who stood loyally against the machine corruption. . . . It was because I did not become Senator that inspired me to take up this battle against the machine.”

* The 76 Republican members of the Pennsylvania Legislature who had voted for Wanamaker for United States Senator.

CHAPTER XXII

HIS PHILOSOPHY OF LIVING

IS THERE anything in the whole world half so good," queried John Wanamaker upon one occasion, "as being straight, right and four-square, able to work hard, earn an honest living, look everybody in the face and not be afraid of anybody or anything?" At another time he summed up his idea of life's necessities as "religion first, earning power next, and a vision of general culture later"—adding that "the man or woman will need them all, but the first two are actual necessities." And again he wrote: "There is nothing in this world that has given me the satisfaction that the time spent in the service of God and His people has given me. The things of this world pass away, but the things of God are eternal."

The busy-ness of living was to him the greatest business. His stores were merely a means to that end—for himself and for those who shared their services with him, customer and employees alike. Business was a form of religion. Religion was a form of business. Both served the same purpose—in helping people to live creatively here and now. Both were inspired from within. "All beginnings are in ourselves," he said, "whatever our work may be we must shoulder it and not waste an hour . . . it is of no use to dream of nothingness or knock at this door and then at that . . . or call some

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one to help us. Each must live his own burdens and persevere every minute to finish his own part, and not set a bad example of idleness or shirking. A rubber stamp will not do the business of life . . . engage in something that will produce something for the rest of the world. Anything that benefits the human race is legitimate business and you may indulge in it with impunity."

We have seen that his mother wanted him to become a clergyman. He had the same notion himself—especially in a spirit of thanksgiving for restoration of health after the early threat of tuberculosis. "But the idea clung to my mind," he said, "that I could accomplish more *in the same domain* if I became a merchant and acquired means and influence."

He early learned the necessity of making money and of saving it. Born without fortune, thrift became an early habit, "Thrift," he said, "is one of the foundation stones of character. . . . Many young people believe that a good appearance is of more importance than anything else, but unless it is supplemented by habits of thrift, it will not get one very far. . . . An active account in a savings bank is one of the best recommendations that a young man or young woman can have, because it indicates that they intend to try and succeed by their own efforts, and not depend on others for their success. . . . The way to save is to begin at once . . . once a person has acquired the habit of saving, it is a pleasure to watch it grow, with the added satisfaction of knowing that there is something to fall back upon in an emergency."

His first savings were seven cents, taken out of the money received as a boy in his father's brickyard . . . and remem-

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bering this as a man he founded in Philadelphia the "First Penny Savings Bank"—opened July 10, 1888, when "three of the deposits," as an official of the bank tells the story, "were each of one cent and the largest was \$200 made by an old lady. Many five cent deposits were made and a large number did not exceed \$1. One little lady laid \$3 on the cashier's desk, and proudly exhibited her book to her companions, showing the amount she had 'put in.' The little ones buzzed about inquiring of each other how much had been 'put in,' the word 'deposit' not being comprehended in their vocabulary. There was such a mass of small coins that the bank officials could not guess how much they had received and at 8:30 the doors had to be closed and deposits refused, a good many depositors being turned away."

While still in his teens John Wanamaker took out his first insurance policy. He added many others, never letting any of them lapse, and at 50 years of age he "was insured for a larger sum than any other American citizen," as stated in a letter of congratulation from the insurance companies.* In 1895, when he was 57 years old, he held 62 policies with a face value of over a million and a half dollars, having paid to the insurance companies premiums to the amount of \$815,209.54. To the members of the National Association of Life Insurance Underwriters holding its convention at that time he stated his reasons for taking out these policies:

"I simply worked out five conclusions as the result of my own thinking, without any moving cause except my own judgment.

* Rodman Wanamaker, his son, at his death was the heaviest insured individual in the United States.

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"First: that at the time I knew I was insurable and I could not be sure of immunity from accident or ill-health and it might be that at some future time I would not be insurable. This was the first step to the building up of my 62 policies.

"Second: that life insurance was one of the best forms of investment because from the moment it was made it was good for all it cost and carried with it a guarantee and there was protection in that investment that I could not get in any other.

"Third: that life insurance in the long run was a saving fund that not only saved but took care of my deposits and gave the opportunity for the possible profits that not infrequently returned principal and interest and profit.

"Fourth: that life insurance, regarded from the standpoint of quick determination, was more profitable than any other investment I could make.

"Fifth: that it enabled a man to give away all he wished during his lifetime and still make such an estate as he cared to leave.

"I did not know what life insurance really meant to me," he said later, "until my policies were falling due—and I had a large sum of money with which I began to build my Philadelphia Store. I would not have been prepared to start my building when I did if I had not saved \$2,500,000 little by little." And still later he said that he never had got far in saving until he experienced the value of having found a "distinct and pleasing object for which to save . . ." in the form of premiums in policies constantly falling due. He added that he could "never be grateful enough to those who so ingeniously taught me to take out endowment policies which terminated when they could best aid me in carrying out new plans in my business. When that happened I felt as if a gold mine had opened at my hand." And again he summed up its benefits in this phrase: "Life insurance as-

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sure confidence; confidence begets credit; and credit makes profit."

Wanamaker was solicitous for the welfare of his business family as though it were his own family. He said: "I have two homes—my old home, where I sleep, dearer to me than ever; and this home (the store) with the family which has grown up with me."

"I do not believe in a man who says he did not get a chance. I believe the man must make his chance." He then would proceed to *give* the individual his chance.

"I will not have a business," he wrote, "where the individual is going to be lost. I want to give you the opportunity of just putting out what is in you."

He also told his own people: "If I have said anything to hurt anyone's feelings, forgive me for I never intended it. If I have been misunderstood I hope you will take the liberty of writing me a note about it. Just leave it at my office or send it to New York marked PERSONAL, and you will be sure to get an answer." His people often wrote to him in this confidence and they always received a helpful reply. He said: "whatever you confide in me will be held as sacred as what you tell to a priest."

When changes in store personnel were necessary he did not stop to count the cost—in money. He did the thing that was to be done. But he would take care of the individual who was disturbed if there was any good in the man or woman.

One day he changed a buyer's work. Took away his department and gave him another. The buyer was depressed

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and showed it. Wanamaker asked what was the matter. "Well I have just bought my home, placed a mortgage on it, and I am fearful of the future."

"I'll take over that mortgage," said Wanamaker.

"No, I will work it out myself," said the buyer, but as he moved toward the door to leave, he showed in his face that he was still in low spirits and discouraged.

"Mr. ——," said Wanamaker, like a shot out of a pistol, "I have more confidence in you than you have in yourself." The shot went home. It made a new man of the buyer. "I made up my mind then and there," he said, "that no one should ever say that to me again." And the buyer became one of the successes of the store.

Wanamaker knew how to handle people to get the best out of them. An angry employee burst into his office one day and said: "I've been in hell for the past few months. You've been the devil. Now, I want you to take your poker out of the fire." Was he crazy? No. In telling the story afterwards, the man, himself, said that he only assumed anger and made the rough remark to bring to a crisis the strained situation that had developed between them. Wanamaker recognized the bluff and met it. He recognized the good in the man and saved it. He merely said: "Go back to your office and draw up a plan by which we can work together." The man was his advertising manager, an individual difficult to work with, but a genius whom he did not want to lose.

This same manager once wrote on a memorandum of an advertisement submitted to him for insertion in the newspapers by one of the merchandise chiefs of the store: "Lie

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No. 1"—across the first item. "Lie No. 2"—across the second item. "Lie No. 3"—across the third item. "Lie No. 4"—across the fourth item.

In great anger the chief took the paper to Wanamaker who summoned the advertising manager—"Now let's get the facts of this." The chief explained his memorandum and gave more information about the merchandise he wished to advertise. When he had finished Wanamaker said to the advertiser, "I think you should apologize to Mr. Blank, he has made out his case." The advertiser walked to the door, faced about, said: "I beg your pardon, Mr. Blank, I said you told four lies. You only told two"—and slammed the door. It was another time for forbearance. The advertiser had misunderstood the facts as presented by the chief. The air was cleared. The integrity of the store's advertising was safeguarded. "We can afford to suffer an insult unchallenged in order to keep as manager a stickler for truth in advertising," Wanamaker said.

When the entire advertising staff remained absent from the welcome given Wanamaker upon a return from Europe, having foolishly got it into their heads that marching down the main aisle of the store before their chief was like bowing the knee to Cæsar, he placed all the members on furlough, saying: "If you don't understand the spirit of this business better than that you had better leave it for a time." When asked who would get out the page of advertising he said: "I will write it myself." The staff was taken back gradually, after being "on furlough" long enough to get a better idea of the spirit of the store—all save the chief, who never came back.

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Wanamaker made money by earning it, but he never let it become his god. "The jingle of money in the merchant's till will never satisfy the real man." But he would preach the necessity of making money to keep a great business going,—“We must all earn more money,” he said one day to his people. “But you cannot get more money if you don't earn it.”

About riches he wrote: “There is no harm in being rich, if the rich man's spirit is right.” And again: “There are various kinds of riches. The richest men personally known to the writer as rich men, according to the usual standard, were few, but none of them—Cornelius Vanderbilt, Alexander T. Stewart, H. B. Claflin, A. J. Drexel, the Rothschilds of Vienna, the Rothschilds of Frankfort-on-the-Main, the Gurneys of London—outranked a little man, merchant on Market Street, who years ago commenced as an apprentice and afterwards as a journeyman, and gave away a tenth of his income to the day of his death, nearly forty years, when he endowed a school which is still in existence—and his life is thus going on—I. V. Williamson, who lived to save that he might have it to give. His riches were not in the amounts of the hundreds and thousands he made and saved, but in the even and constant and ever apparent riches of mind and heart that led him to keep his pocketbook open and pouring out in the intensity of delight and genuine happiness of real liberality, which brought into his life something unknown to a man who had never known the joy of giving who gave only under special pressure and when he could not avoid it.”

About poverty he wrote: “There is something worse than poverty of money; it is the poverty of manhood or woman-

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hood." And speaking of shoddy manhood he said: "There is shoddy manhood as well as shoddy silks and shoddy trouserings; and shoddy storekeeping, banking and advertising."

In some ways John Wanamaker always remained a boy—particularly in the sunny South, where he would go of a winter to escape the cold winds that affected his strained throat. He was then a real boy—up with the sun, walking the sands on the narrow silver strip in the shape of a crescent, at Pass-a-Grille. Picking up and playing with the shells and pebbles. Going out in the Gulf in a small boat to fish all day long with George Roberts, an expert fisherman, who "goes barefoot and writes with his toes, pulling in on a little silk thread of six strands and an ordinary hook a kingfish 3½ feet long." Of this incident, Mr. Wanamaker wrote:

"How did he do it? By patience and care, letting Mr. Kingfish take all the time he wanted and gently leading him up to the side of our boat to catch hold of him with his hands and lift him into the barrel. It was all done in fifteen minutes! Some people fish for health, rest, to get out of the world, to prove their judgment and improve their skill. Some men, well known, catch the big tarpons, weighing from 100 to 300 pounds, take a few silver scales from their backs and let them go again. It is not all brutal sport, as shooting tame pigeons is. But catching and landing a big fish with a bit of sewing silk is a fair example of the power of little things,—a book, a card, a song, a kindly word."

Again he wrote of a record catch he made in Florida when he was 80 years old—148 fish in one day. "It was like this:

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We went out in the Gulf at nine in the morning and the fish were biting freely. The doctor, not being very well, lounged back in his seat and when I saw his eyes were closed I knew that his line would not take up a catch, so I took it up and handled it with my own. It was a troll line. And with two troll lines I caught the 148 fish before we came home that day. Sometimes I would catch five fish in five minutes. I pulled them all in myself, at least to the boat. I had some help in getting them aboard. As the fish began to come in I said to myself, 'now I will stay until I catch fifty.' When fifty were caught the doctor said, 'now you must stop and go home.' 'No,' I said, 'I must catch fifty-eight, the record catch I made last year.' So I kept it up until I had sixty-three.

"The doctor said, 'well now, you must go home, at least when you catch seventy-five,' 'All right,' I said; 'I will catch seventy-five.' When I caught seventy-five I was thinking of 100. When I caught 100 I began thinking of the record catch the whole boatload had made last year—I think it was 128. And I went after that record. I kept on till I landed 148, and it was midnight before we reached home, bringing with us the 1,391 pounds of fish that furnished happy meals for many a day for the fishermen and their families." And Wanamaker added: "There is nothing like going after records and beating them." Beating records was almost a passion with him. He knew that, to keep alive, business had to grow. So, early in life he set himself the task of making each day's sales exceed the same day of the year before—and his fishing record was only a reflection of his business records.

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He always yearned to be a boy again. In his cottage at Cape May where he had gone alone to rest he wrote this on July 4, 1903:

"There cometh a mist and a weeping rain, and the sea is not the same. We unlock the hammocks and push back the rocking chairs to save us from the storm that forms scurrying cloud walls between us and the many ships and the fourteen miles of breakwater. The sea with its myriad fingers comes up and pats the shore and rushes away as if it had forgotten something. I am glad to be left behind in the quiet and rest, satisfied to be here alone writing with my knee for the desk, willing to pay almost any price for the privilege of doing nothing and for two days to be a boy again. Maybe the world thinks I cannot! I wish it could see—at least once. If it did—and liked such boyishness—I should be tempted to say to the world—I love to work, but I love, too, to lay it all down—all the way down and let the nature of me have its holiday. So do I soar away to quite another world, sometimes to Mars, sometimes to the Pleiades. I have invented trolleys that run direct at my bidding to the Southern Cross, to Jupiter, to Saturn. Only it requires time to enjoy these journeys of nature. Time is the only fare that I have to pay. And almost always I must go alone, for nearly all the friends I have are as busy as myself. The pity of it all—forever to drudge and never to budge from mostly fudge! The pity of it all!"

He kept the youthful spirit all his life. "Keep the boy feeling you have always had," he wrote, "and live as Gladstone lived with hope of a hundred years." He had the same hope. He actually expected to reach the century mark. At

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the age of 80 he was formulating plans that could not well mature for another twenty years. He was not thinking alone of his successors, nor planning for the continuity of his business. He was planning for himself. He expected to be here when these plans matured.

To John Wanamaker home was a sanctuary—a place to commune with the family; a refuge from business worries; a playground in which to keep young; a place to take friends, especially those who were discouraged, and his family never knew whom he would bring home—whether some one who, as the Salvation Army says, “is down but not out,” a prince of the church, a titled visitor from some foreign land, or some neighbor’s children picked up on the roadside as he drove home from the store. In the spiritual meaning of the word John Wanamaker’s home was the sanctuary where he prepared his Sunday school and Church work, laboring late into the night that he might give new courage and faith to his large Bible class on the following Sunday.

Following his mother’s and father’s custom he held morning prayers. But there was nothing formal or austere in their ceremony. It was simple and natural, a daily communion with his Maker, in love and comradeship. He was the first to break the solemnity with a hearty remark and a good appetite for breakfast.

From the day of his marriage until she died—two years before his own death—his wife, Mary Brown, took charge of the home and freed him from all household cares, being sympathetically aided, as she grew older and fell into ill-

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health, by her devoted son, Rodman. John Wanamaker was "mothered" in his home, and this had much to do with his success.

In his early life, as a struggling merchant, his various homes near his store, on Spruce and Walnut streets, were simple and unpretentious. As he prospered he took a town house of some size first at 1336 Walnut, and then at 2022 Walnut where he died. He also established a country place near Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, about 10 miles out on the old York Road north of Philadelphia, calling it Lindenhurst. This was just an old-fashioned gentlemen's estate of some fifty acres on which he erected a comfortable rambling house after the English manor style, also a cottage of which he grew very fond later in life, some buildings for horses and cows and chickens, a gardener's and helpers' cottage, and some hothouses for the culture of plants and flowers which he loved so much. The old trees and gardens made the grounds very beautiful.

"This country home (Lindenhurst) is particularly dear to both the Postmaster-General and Mrs. Wanamaker," wrote a friend in 1890, "and there the happiest hours in his busy life are spent among the flowers and trees and birds. It is his custom, when at home, to rise early each morning and spend a few minutes at least walking about the grounds. He says it makes the day easier when he carries some of the morning freshness into his office with him. For every one, from the old flagman at the station to the dogs about the place, he has a kindly greeting when he meets them, and they all feel better for having seen and spoken to him.

"It is a custom of Mr. Wanamaker's to invite his Bible

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class each year to spend a day with him at Lindenhurst. This day he keeps free from business and he gives his whole time to the entertainment of his guests, many of whom never see the country at any other time and look forward to this visit from year to year. The beautiful grounds present a most festive appearance upon this yearly fête day; swings hang from the trees and games of tennis and croquet dot the lawns, while everywhere groups of happy people wander about, to many of whom, as one old woman remarked: 'It seems like Paradise.' They have dinner in the woods and a short talk from the host; and then they go home in the cool of the evening to look forward to next year, when they will enjoy it all over again."

In the main building at Lindenhurst he built several galleries which he filled slowly and discriminatingly with old masters. Here, too, he placed the religious paintings of Munkácsy, "Christ Before Pilate" and "Christ on Calvary," his masterpieces. Most of the other canvases were portraits, showing that Wanamaker's passion, like that of William Booth, his friend, founder of the Salvation Army, was humanity. He found his inspiration in great minds and great characters of history. He liked to read biographies. He liked to have strong faces around him. He made these men and women live again in his own mind. He re-created them as his daily companions.

In 1910 the old homestead at Lindenhurst burned down in the absence of the family, but the pictures were saved, the canvases being cut from their frames by neighbors who came in to save what they could. A new Lindenhurst was immediately erected, largely planned by Rodman Wana-

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maker, after the manner of a French château, but both his mother and father insisted upon building into it certain old-fashioned nooks and corners reminiscent of their former home in which they had lived together so happily. Here Mrs. Wanamaker's funeral was held in 1920, after her death in Atlantic City, and beside the bier for more than an hour before and during the ceremony, John Wanamaker sat like a Roman of old, his eyes on the peaceful countenance of his beloved wife who had been his staunch helpmate for almost sixty years. It was an unforgettable picture of love and gratitude for a noble woman. Keeping always modestly in the background, Mary Brown unselfishly poured out her strength and heart and mind that John Wanamaker's genius might be given to the world in all its power. Her constant solicitude for her husband, her meticulous care, her love and sympathy are revealed in many letters written through the long years and preserved by Rodman Wanamaker. In them all shine a nobility of character and a spiritual faith and devotion that formed the unseen inspiration of John Wanamaker's life and work.

John Wanamaker was always a liberal in his home life—he was not at all narrow or fanatical. The story is told—and it is true—that he promised his mother never to sell playing cards—and he kept the promise. Probably for this reason he never played himself. But cards were freely played in his home. His own favorite game was “sniff” played with dominoes, and he disliked to be beaten—as he rarely was. He liked to see the young people dancing, and at times would join with them in the old-fashioned Virginia reel. What he thought of modern dances we never knew.

CHAPTER XXIII

HIS CREED OF SUCCESS

SUCCESS is within the man was Wanamaker's creed, if he puts it to use by his own efforts. "Success lies less in the possession of some special gift," he said, "than it lies in the human power to put to use the more or less common gifts of which almost every one has absolute ownership. It is a common custom to look around outside of ourselves for somebody to do things, instead of looking at ourselves for the one best able to do the job. The doing of actual work before and behind us is the backbone of success. When we were little we were each christened with a name, but there is within us a man as yet without a name. This nameless man has never been tried out. He may be an Edison, a Ford, a Sargent, an Alexander Graham Bell or a Joseph H. Choate."

"The first step toward success in any vocation," he told the students of the Wanamaker Institute of Industries, "is a willingness to work. He who chooses this or that avenue to wealth, under the impression that it is the one which is without its cares, responsibilities, or labors, commits a great error; and doubtless more young men shipwreck on this than any other, or all other rocks. Every one should seek pleasant employment, for the double reason that his heart may be in his labor, and that it will be the kind to which he is

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best adapted; a liking for, and an adaption to, always going hand in hand.

"Having once selected the proper and natural vocation, prosecute it untiringly, and never be satisfied with being second or third rate. Try to excel all others in your profession; and do not halt even then, if you see any room for further improvement; but assiduously strive to scale every obstacle and place yourself on a level with perfection.

"There are but few men in this world who can attempt more than one or two things and succeed well enough. There are some men, I admit, who seem to make a success of everything they touch, but the bulk of us, in order to get a living, must devote ourselves to one thing, and stand by that industry through life.

"I have the theory that the man who builds up an industry in any country, especially in a country like ours, and furnishes labor and good wages for a large number of his fellow men, is entitled to a crown. Men who furnish work for their fellow men are the men who invest capital for the benefit of the human race. What men want most is something to do."

He believed thoroughly in the dignity of labor and strongly resented the rich idler's sneers. He said to his store family: "We are looked upon by people that have never done a day's work as having a hard time. There are committees of societies to see that we get a drink of water when we want it, and a stool to sit upon, and that we are not starved. They forget their own coachmen (it was before the day of the automobile) that are kept until long after

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midnight. We have learned the dignity of work. We have learned that there is a fine companionship to it."

Again he said:

"It is a big mistake for anybody, high up or low down, to ignore or treat arrogantly the day's work toilers, be they men or women, no matter what their manner of employment may be. We are but human beings, and most all of us are, or have been at some time or other, or those who preceded us had to be, dependent on daily toil to provide daily needs. Therefore, we should be considerate of each other as all of the Brotherhood of Bread-Winners."

To his own people he said:

"We are not counting each other as numbers or just simply a cog in a wheel, but that we intend to live together as men and women that respect each other and that seem to study each other's comfort and each other's prosperity and to make these dull, gray, sick and difficult days (it was war time), useful days and days of progress. We ought to go to the farthest extreme of politeness with a scrubwoman or the man that brings up the elevator or the porter that carries the basket and sweeps. If we are not polite and kind to them, we cannot expect them to do anything more than to reflect our spirit when they meet the customer."

And yet again: "My success is your success. I don't want to fail you. I don't want you to fail me."

To the students of the Pierce Business School of Philadelphia he said:

"If I could raise your ladder for you, I would put your

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feet and hands on the rungs tonight, but each of you must choose your own ladder. Ask me if I think that every one of you *can* succeed, and I will say yes to each of you. Ask me if I believe that each of you *will* succeed, and I must answer emphatically no.

"I think it is possible for you to succeed, because we came out from God, the source of life, to do something He fitted us for in the world He made for man, and the life He gave to each must go back to Him to give account of what the man did with it. I do not think He made us in His own image and likeness without meaning to help us to success, and we must admit the Creator surely has a right to elect His own way to do His work."

"A man's character," he wrote for the Alexander Hamilton Institute in 1917, "is the mark, the impress, the absolute individuality engraven into his life, which does not change and cannot be rubbed out. His reputation may be this or that, or what people think of him, or what people say about him; his reputation may change from good to bad and from bad to good, and his reputation may be an altogether mistaken estimate—but his *character* is different. The character of a man is what he makes of himself, while his reputation is what other people think about him.

"A man's character is generally formed in the first 20 years of his life. In some degree it is influenced by his associations and environment; in some degree by education. But all these are only small influences compared with the measure that a man's own definite purpose, his own will, his own clear sight of right and wrong, his own physical and especially his own moral courage, have in the determination of what

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his character is to be. The first thing in his business life is probity; the first thing in his domestic life is sound affection; the first thing in his spiritual life is an unswerving belief in the inspired word of God and in the value of his own soul."

"The cause of failure," he went on to explain, "may be only one of this dozen of little things that, after all, are not only little things:

"1. He forgets that his worth is manifest by what he produces.

"2. He finds excuses for NOT DOING, instead of finding ways to DO what should be done.

"3. The world goes ahead in almost every direction, and he keeps on the humdrum turnpike, where somebody will have to pay the tolls.

"4. He is not observant, accurate or thoughtful.

"5. He is sailing by the broken compass of chance.

"6. He flatters himself by viewing himself in his own mirror, instead of measuring himself with others that have passed him in the race.

"7. He thinks nobody notices that he has fallen behind.

"8. He does not love his work as he expected when he began, and therefore his enthusiasm has been lost.

"9. He puts off too many things until tomorrow.

"10. He is unconscious of being idle much of his time, and lets the day go by lacking the results he could have attained.

"11. His lack of thoroughness blocks leadership.

"12. However honorable, he fails to realize that his example affects others."

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Of the requirements of a business career he wrote:

"We firmly believe that a business career, of the kind we have always had in view, comprehends and requires the very same preparations as any of the learned professions. Whatever doctors, lawyers, engineers and scientists require for their life work and the doctor's necessary investigations of maladies, epidemics, surgical operations, is likewise necessary to the merchant, who not only puts in his brain, but risks all the money he has and can command in scouring the entire world of art, invention, productive power and most skillful manufacturing, to assemble its treasures for purposes of education as well as profit. To do this well and wisely the merchant lives his life among his people, gives them his best endeavor, and with happy surroundings, affords them self-respecting and self-supporting labor, which educates and elevates their station of life.

"A merchant's schools reach scores, hundreds and sometimes thousands and tens of thousands of individuals every one of the six days. A merchant's opportunity is in many instances broader and farther reaching than the average professional, and some day it will be so recognized. Any one can be a shopkeeper, but a merchant is as much different as a Rocky Mountain eagle from a mouse."

Even while painting this exalted picture of a merchant he could turn good-humoredly to his own younger days when he, himself, was crude and not by any means the great merchant, and write out of his own experience such homely advice as this:

"To the young fellow just going into business—this is a modest contribution, out of reminiscences—

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"It might be better not to wear that big seal ring. You don't need it, and with some people it will not help you.

"Not to carry that cane to business. When you get on after a while, you may wear rings or carry a walking cane in each hand, if you like.

"Not to smoke on the way to business.

"The writer believes that a flash waistcoat and huge, heavy gold watch chain crossing both sides of the waistcoat, and a big cigar on the streets, had much effect in the undoing of a most attractive young fellow who never got on."

Of women in business, in the progress of whom his store had much to do, he wrote in 1919:

"Men no longer monopolize the business places. Women have been tried out, and have proven to have as great endurance as men. Women have more tact and accuracy than men. There is far more reciprocity in fine manners between women and women. Men have lessons to learn in speech and good manners towards each other. It is a fact that women are taking more pains to succeed in business than ever before and to make themselves independent as earners of their own support."

With idlers he had no patience. "Some people choose a comfortable corner to idly sit by," he wrote, "and pronounce upon the shortcomings of every man they know. They never do a stroke of work from one end of the year to the other, and they wonder why they cannot sleep and why they have so little appetite for food. No wonder the

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large lists of graduates from medical colleges who are needed to take care of and make their fortunes out of the idlers, three-fourths of whom imagine themselves ill! 'The healthiest and happiest people in the world are those privileged to work a full business day.'

He linked idealism with pragmatism, knowing that each supplements the other. "There is altogether too much talk about the contrast between practical men and the idealist," he wrote in 1921. "It is not only the young that undertake to abide by their ideals, but the great artists, the great writers, the great teachers, the great statesmen, and the great business men. The ideal is the mind's picture of the thing that ought to be done. All that we have that is great, worth-while and enduring, we have because some one lifted his or her eyes to the vision of the ideal and then went to work with might and main to accomplish it. The most practical men that I have ever known in business were the most enthusiastic idealists. I have heard that there are some men in business who tell their young helpers that they must 'lay aside their ideals and deal with business in a practical way.' It is the man of this same sort who says, 'those idealists are always failures in business.'

"My experience has not taught me that this is true. I have known idealists to fail, honorably, in business, and I have known practical business men to fail, sometimes not honorably, by the failure of their machinations. I have known both kinds of men to succeed in business, but the greatest successes were men who were ardent idealists. The reason is a simple one. It is that nothing can be built up powerfully

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and permanently unless there is an underlying foundation of principle."

Wanamaker labored all his long life for the advance of education. He was a staunch friend of teachers, and while a member of the Philadelphia Board of Education he helped to procure for them a higher standard of instruction in the schools. "I am willing to go on record as saying," he wrote to the Philadelphia Teachers' Association on March 25, 1911, "that I do not know of any other class of women educated to a profession that receives as little pay as the teachers of the elementary schools."

And then speaking as a member of the Board of Education, and assuming the rôle of teacher, which he was all through his life, he made a plea for the raising of salaries, saying:

"This fine old city is not ready to take a second place, nor one further down, either in the equipment of its schools or in the quality of its teachers. For we teachers want more pay that we may keep abreast of the times. We want to know what is on President Eliot's Five-foot Shelf. If one hopes to teach even a dog something, one must know a little more than the dog; and no one yet has been able to know enough to fathom the depths of a boy. We want our salaries raised."

Unlike many other self-educated and so-called self-made business men, John Wanamaker never belittled the value of a college education. He wrote this: "Let me say that I

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greatly regret it was not my own good fortune to receive a college education, as I believe I could have done twice as good work with the keen perception and sharpening of the intellect, which such an education gives to those who make the proper use of it. While it was impossible for me to go back over the road and secure the college education I missed as a youth, it was possible in later years to strongly advise my two sons to stay at Princeton and complete their courses, though they begged all the time otherwise, saying that they had chosen a business career and wished to take up their life work. But I was able to hold them steady, believing it was a true thing that if you wanted to cut wood it is necessary to have the axe as sharp as you can get it instead of using a dull axe or penknife. So the boys stayed and graduated, and I think there is nothing that I ever did for them which gave them so much satisfaction as the memories of those happy college days, not only the memories but the increased capacity, and, therefore, the greater asset to the business in which they became engaged.

"This has been called the Age of the Trust; it is also an age of distrust. The merchant must be big enough, broad enough, far-seeing enough, to survey the whole field and then stand as a bulwark amid the confusions, heresies and fears of his time. I take it, after years of concentration and coöperation in mercantile pursuits under the freest sort of competition, that a college student can find no avenue open to him that will demand a greater toll upon his powers than to live in one community as a merchant ministering to all the people always and in all ways, and ministering his business with fairness, equality, equity and hospitality.

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A successful merchant must needs be a scientist, a statesman, a reformer, a custodian of social interest and an arbiter of industrial problems.

"I could well wish that all of our good people holding executive positions might have had the benefit of a college education. I believe that all things else being equal they would have become better business men, though many of them have accomplished wonderful things, considering the handicaps under which they started. A college education is a beneficial thing to a man in business, but it depends on the man himself as to what use he will make of it. Speaking from my personal observation as an employer of both college and non-college graduates, my experience has been that a larger proportion of the former make a substantial success than of the latter.

"I am deeply interested in the idea that college men are looking forward toward a mercantile career, both because of the richness of the opportunity and the superb qualities required for the acquirement of success. I take it that the supreme value attaching to a college course is to fit the student to meet the social demand, whether in the social organism, the state, or the field of commerce.

"The college course gives poise and a resourcefulness that enable the student when he faces the problems of life to meet them without excitement or alarm. The knowledge that he acquires of the races of men gives him an insight into the methods by which our civilization has been built up, and of its present defects and benefits. All of this is so much capital for a mercantile career."

Wanamaker employed college men, whenever he could

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find those who would take off their coats and learn the business with thoroughness. And he employed college women. But the first requisite of every employee was willingness to work and to master the drudgery of details. He would not permit even his own sons to "start at the top."

CHAPTER XXIV

HIS ABIDING FAITH

IT was a steady, impelling, relentless, upbuilding force that worked through John Wanamaker. Call it faith, if you like, or imagination, or ambition, or perseverance. These are only qualities of the force. In its last analysis it was Life, the one force of the universe that actuates both nature and man according to its law of being, but allowing man the freedom of will in its individual expression.

There were the lightning flashes of genius. But there was always the steady flow of the electric-like current of life seeking to create new forms of human service to meet new conditions. Like a tree sending its roots through the soil, twisting and turning and sometimes doubling on their tracks, John Wanamaker went around and above and below obstacles, when he couldn't plough through them, or blast them out of his way. He hesitated not in changing his course, nor even his opinion or decision, if a new road would lead him to a higher service. He kept true to his ideals, but he followed any method of justice and truth to attain those ideals. He couldn't do otherwise. The driving force within him kept him going on and on and up and up, with a steadiness and constancy that was the marvel of his associates. No one knew what he would do next. He, himself, knew not. He did the thing that came to him to do, and he did it powerfully.

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When others were in doubt, his mind was clear. When others were in fear, he had courage. When others were depressed, he had faith. In the dark days of two great wars, he never lost that faith. In depression in business, in financial crises, he was the one, and sometimes the only one, who was sure that he would weather the storm.

In the depths of sorrow, in his own family or in the home of a friend, he would quote from memory, or read from the much-thumbed pages of the small Bible which he kept ever in his pocket, some words of faith and comfort.

He knew what his job was. It was to make the most of the life that was in him, in whatever path that life would lead him. He was willing to be led by this life he felt within him. He trusted it. He followed it implicitly. In him, life and conscience and God were one.

At times—when the spell of big accomplishment was on him—he went ahead apparently thoughtless of others. He hurt people's feelings. He made men and events and environment bend to his will. Later when told that someone felt aggrieved he was as tender and solicitous as a woman.

John Wanamaker had many facets to his character, but ever through him shone the pure light of the spirit of life. At times there appeared in him to human eyes only the mighty, impersonal, electric force, which might be called the life of nature. But mostly there was apparent the warm magnetic force, which is the life of the word of God.

This would explain that which to many people seemed unexplainable—the apparent paradoxes in his character. He was merely reflecting two sides of his character when he would say: "I will not suffer myself to speak any aggrandiz-

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ing words," and then proceed to set forth his great achievements in business. They were great. And he was deeply humble in their greatness. But he could no more refrain from showing them to the world than a tree can refrain from showing its fruits and a plant its flowers.

He would write this about home: "Preoccupation, absence from the family circle owing to business necessities, intensity of study and personal engagements in the work of authorship may seem natural and excusable, but nevertheless the fact remains that one's offspring have the first call and claim upon father and mother to set their children the right example and give them practical guidance in forming the habits of life." He believed every word of this counsel. He usually followed it. But at times, he would become so immersed in his business, in his public life, even in his church work, that his family would see little of him.

No other man, except one with the same hold that John Wanamaker had on the people, could have published day in and day out those editorials about his own life and his business and affairs in general, and not have been subject to extreme criticism. Coming from John Wanamaker they were sympathetically received, carefully read, and sincerely accepted by the vast majority of people as homely gospel which they needed in their own lives.

His faith was not the blind faith of a child or of a fanatic. It was the reasoned-out faith of a student of both the Bible and of human affairs. It was tested in the crucible of life.

Writing in 1922 to the World's Sunday School Convention in Tokio—which he was prevented from attending because of his wife's illness, but which nevertheless elected him its

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president for the ensuing year—after stating that he regarded the Sunday school as the principal education of his life—and that through the Holy Scriptures he found knowledge not to be obtained elsewhere, which established and developed fixed principles and foundations upon which all he was and whatever he had done were securely built upon and anchored, he added:

“What good is there in rejecting the Bible?—A mere abstract belief that God exists is not of much practical value. I found in my Bible the Christ, the Son of nature but also the Son of God—whoever will do what Christ tells him will find faith and freedom and power in trying to imitate Him, and by prayer to the Father, in His Name, will be wonderfully helped to live his life and do things that will benefit the world.”

As his years grew to a close, there came a great mellowness and meekness of spirit. The driving force was still there. The intellect was still keen. The will was unbroken. But the heart assumed control. He died not in the spirit of great achievement, but in the spirit of simple and deep humility—“the only wish I have is that I could have done all my work better.” He wrote this in an editorial which was his farewell—to the business, to his friends, to life itself. It was written in the autumn of 1922 and came to the advertising bureau of the store as other editorials had come, without comment. It was the first indication in his writings that he was even thinking of his own death, and was, of course, pigeonholed, being shown only to Rodman Wanamaker. After his death on December 12, 1922, it was pub-

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lished on December 19, being first read at the store's memorial exercises in New York. This is the editorial:

"Some day, not so far distant, my little pencil will have written its last piece and be laid aside. With simple gratitude to the many who have written me encouraging letters and others who have personally sought me with thankful words, I write these heartfelt lines to say that what at first seemed a task became a pleasure, because I felt in my own soul almost everything I wrote, and desired, as I put down in words, to be helpful to those fellow-pilgrims on the way with me.

"Much that I have written was said out of my experience and observation, and much that I quoted was said by people that I had personally known in this country and across the sea. I refer to Henry Drummond, Professor Blackie, Charles H. Spurgeon, Newman Hall, Lord Shaftesbury, Martin Tupper, President Grant, President Garfield, President Harrison, President McKinley, James G. Blaine, President Taft, George H. Stuart, A. T. Stewart, Horace Greeley, D. L. Moody, Bishop Simpson, Albert Barnes, John Chambers, Judge George B. Orlady, Theodore Roosevelt, Anthony J. Drexel, Jay Cooke, John H. Converse, Henry Ward Beecher, John B. Gough, Sir George Williams, J. Russell Miller, George F. Pentecost, Horace B. Claffin, Marshall Field, John W. Farwell and others.

"I have read and searched and listened to wise men and made the best use I could, in the little scraps I have written, of everything that I thought might be useful to others struggling like myself to make the best of life. The only wish I have is that I could have done all my work better."

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This last line is John Wanamaker's epitaph, written by himself. No one could write a nobler one, nor one that so truly epitomizes the man.

During the year preceding his death he wrote some intimate letters to his son Rodman to whom he had given the business, which so well express his personality that excerpts are given here at the risk of intruding on the sacredness of family life.

August 18, 1921

"Dearest of all men, My Rodman—These good morning lines to you first of all (this was written in New York) on my arrival after 9, train on time—here a little after 9.

"The fog of the early morn after a night of rain has fled in the face of an autumn sun and a coolsome gentle wynd.

"11:50 A.M.

"After my audience of Appel and Lynn we adjourned in an hour and ever since I have been with Mr. Lynn in the basement of this building and all over the seventh floor of the A. T. Stewart house, including its invoice, storage and factory.

"Everywhere I appeared I was stared at and pointed out as a 'Philadelphia curio.' Yes, sir, New York has much to learn and much to improve and Philadelphia is in a dead sleep and does not know it.

"Neither of us is doing any or enough good work to get found out.

"Truly ignorance is bliss. Both the stores are full of 'what's the use,' and 'who cares,' and 'there's nobody looking at us.'

"I hope you will see your way clear to give yourself a run to Biarritz and the Mediterranean so near—possibly to Rome also for what there is to learn there—Naples and its enchantment and its museum so wonderful, and Genoa.

"Our business will not begin this year until October.

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"I am splendidly well and can do more and enjoy doing it than any time in the past three years.

"You can help the business best by feeding it with new health, new ideas, and a few new goods that we can talk about in our advertisements.

"Your devoted
"FATHER"

"Friday the 13th of June, 1922

"Rodman so dearly loved:

"Just a word by a slow ship that may arrive on other than a mail day to tell you that there is not a day or an hour of a day or night that I am awake that I am not thinking of you.

"The business keeps up well, heat or no heat, for which I am thankful.

"Many are off on their vacations but crowds fill the aisles.

"I am off for Lindenhurst at 5:20 and am real well.

"Yours always,
"FATHER"

"July 10, 1922

"And I have been at my desk and yours for seven minutes.

"The dull day with a sky of pea soup is cooler than yesterday so far—I have read my mail with two or three business letters.

"Naturally, I write first to you. You see I feel I want to—

"Write something

"To you

"Every day

"Though I know that the only good steamer does not sail under Saturday.

"I cherish every cable and letter that comes from you Sundays and week days.

"I slept well at Lindenhurst last night and feel better today than I have ever felt for the past three over-hot days.

"To be continued in our next

"Your old schoolmaster,
"J. W."

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"Philadelphia, June the last, 1922"

"Dearest Rodman ever dearer:

"I mailed you a letter from New York yesterday and this is one day later to say that all is well—

"It is excessively hot, however, and no sun—

"I go to Lindenhurst (his Jenkintown home) tonight and Chelsea tomorrow and stop over Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, the Fourth of July, which will give me a good holiday—I am really quite well and good for a full day's work.

"With all love,

"FATHER"

"10th of August, 1922

"New York—

"Another word tied and knotted with love is to go in your letter on tomorrow's steamer.

"All that goes on here would please you.

"The newspaper clippings will convey to you an idea of the wonderful evening last night due wholly to Mr. Cilley and Mr. Haddock. Miss Vogt did much to carry the programme through and did not leave until one-quarter after eleven—

"Hundreds of letters are coming from people all over the State thanking us for the radio treat. All of our people seem happy and proud of the praise people are giving to us, but we are organized to do more business than comes along.

"I am wonderfully well and am going to Chelsea in about a half hour.

"With love untellable,

"FATHER"

"Four P.M. Monday, August 14, 1922, and hot all day.

"Your precious letter of August 4 came this afternoon with its fullness and blessedness of your affection and the knowledge of interests you're so well serving while abroad.

"Every line you write seems like a strain of music to me.

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"These days are all surprising, but we don't have so much business in the torpid heat and general inertness that come with August and September.

"All our affairs seem to run along in the usual streams.

"I am very well and the doctors say so, too.

"I am just leaving at 5 for Lindenhurst.

"Yours to keep,
"FATHER"

Another letter, undated, follows:

"Your old father now in his eighty-fifth year writes to his very dear son Rodman the first letter of the beginning of his new year—

"It is a warm day with little or no life-giving air—

"I've spent an hour or more with Mr. Lynn and Mr. Joseph Appel and Mr. Dripps of Philadelphia on the particulars of the store, the season and our future.

"Not much can be done now with weather and absences affecting sales BUT we can always improve ourselves and be ready for the next turn.

"Our old employee whose card I enclose just opened the door and said he had just returned from Germany where he had spent three months.

"Everything looks well through the stores—everybody is cheerful.

"There is no steamer going out today—but you see I just had to creep up nearer to you by making a few words with you—you were so good to give me yesterday your lovely birthday greeting.

"Your old father who loves you"

"24 of August, 1922, at luncheon alone.

"My very bestest love to you to begin another letter to thank you for yesterday's cable that came to Chelsea and your first fall letter that came this morning—I knew that your study of

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business changes and being near to the countries playing politics instead of rebuilding empires would give you lots of things to be of use to you in days to come.

"Quite a change came on in the weather, and yesterday was cool and lovely, and I went alone and spent the day with Libby at the Harrison cottage with two old maid nurses—she seemed better and happier—I gave your love to her—this morning when I arose at 6 to get 7:20 train the thermometer was 62—it is still cool, but the store is fairly busy—we have no sun, and a storm is threatened.

"But the cool weather is a great relief—even if it only lasts a few days.

"I go to Lindenhurst for the night. This is the last week of August, and winds up the seashore hotels—

"There is nothing here that you need bother about, dear man.

"With love unfathomable in depth,

"FATHER"

John Wanamaker died as he had wished to die—"in the harness," as nearly as possible without sudden death. His last active day in the business was spent in the New York Store, Wednesday, September 19, 1922, where as usual he met with three of his chief executives and talked over affairs of the store and of the world in general.

He was very tired. He attempted nothing more after his conference. He ate luncheon, rested, and returned to Philadelphia on the 4 o'clock train. But upon reaching Philadelphia he went not to his home, but to Bethany Church, to Wednesday evening's prayer meeting. From there he went to the Masonic Temple to a lodge meeting. At midnight he reached his home at Lindenhurst. The next morning he was still tired. Going to his office his doctor saw him there and

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ordered him home. He went reluctantly. He never returned to business.

His illness—a deep cold—at first confined him only to his room. He kept on with his writing—business editorials. Soon writing was denied him as he took to his bed. He still read. Then reading was denied him. He gradually grew weaker.

To be nearer his doctors he was removed to his city home. Two days before he died he asked his daughter: “How am I?” She replied: “Well, here are the doctors, they will tell you.” “No, I don’t want to know what they think—how do I look to you?” Then hearing his butler and valet talking in the next room he became aware that the butler was going to New York the next day to visit his son. He called him to his bedside. “Bracken,” he said, “don’t go empty-handed. Take something to Rodman, give him my love and tell him I will soon be over to see him.”

When Bracken returned two days later, December 12, John Wanamaker was dead.

Of course, he was buried from Bethany. And there thousands of people, unable to gain entrance during the service, stood with bared heads—on a cold, sleety day—while at the windows of houses for blocks around were tear-stained faces. Within the church the Bethany Brotherhood sat in a body, as tears streamed down the faces of gray-haired men. They had lost a friend, a father.

At the Memorial Services held January 14, 1923, Dr. MacLennan said: “The Presbyterian Church in the United States records the loss of its most distinguished layman of the five

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millions of members. The world has lost one of its outstanding men, not of one generation, but of many generations."

Dr. Tompkins, of the Episcopal Church, said: "We hear people say it is impossible for a man to be successful in business and yet be a Christian. Mr. Wanamaker's life gives the lie to that declaration."

Bishop Berry, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, said: "He was probably the most influential layman of the Protestant Church. His life speaks to us of his ardent love for the Bible, of his loyalty to the Christian Sabbath, of his practical interest in every moral reform. His public life was as true to Christian standards as was his life in business or at home. His ideal for a successful merchant was one of alertness, frankness, honesty, fair-dealing, generous treatment of employees, and downright enthusiasm in every avenue of his crowded life. No wonder his name became a household word in tens of thousands of American homes."

Dr. MacColl, of the Second Presbyterian Church, said: "John Wanamaker made of life a great and noble calling. I think among the tributes that have been paid to him, nothing is more suggestive of the large spirit of the man, nothing is more beautiful than the tributes that have been paid to him by representatives of the Jewish faith and of the Roman Catholic Church, as well as by all these groups which find a point of common contact and service in their evangelical faith."

Dr. Conwell, of Grace Baptist Temple, said: "Let him live on! The dead speak and he speaketh! We want to go down to the small boy now in the brickyard and say, 'You can be as great as John Wanamaker.' We must say to the errand

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boy, 'You can be a John Wanamaker or a George W. Childs.' We want to say to the boy beginning his life work in the mill, the shop, the office or wherever he be, 'You have a chance, and even a better chance than John Wanamaker.' We want to declare, 'You can be the same Christian that he was. You can have the same Saviour, and do the same good things he did, if you will work together with God.' We want John Wanamaker's life to go into all parts of the country and among all classes of people, and give them encouragement to a noble life, to a real, true Christianity, to a friendship, and a divine love, that will lead them to imitate his characteristics.

"I remember Mr. Wanamaker in our church one time, with the choir singing, 'Does the World See Jesus in Me?' He said, 'Yes, that is the question, does the world see Jesus in me?'

"Let us that love him go on and be built up in the holy faith and in the Son of the Living God."

The Presbytery of Philadelphia said: "He was not born to die, but to live as an inspiration to everybody who is not lifted at birth to fame and fortune, but has to meet the terrible realities of life at the bottom of the ladder. If Mr. Wanamaker could speak today he would say, 'Climb, boy, climb up the Christian ladder to heights above!'"

BOOK III

THE METHOD

"To be frank and outspoken, the writer of this, the old leader in this business whom the people have so highly honored, declares plainly that he made a compact with himself that this business should be recognized and stand of itself, by itself, for itself, on the highest pinnacle of truth, justice and honor."—JOHN WANAMAKER.

CHAPTER XXV

THE WANAMAKER METHOD IN GENERAL STORE-KEEPING

FREQUENTLY announced in his advertising and expounded by the Founder especially on anniversary occasions, the business principles and policies of John Wanamaker became through the course of years a kind of business constitution by which the store was bound in its dealings with the public and with its own store family. There was no other limitation on the head of the business who founded it, who built it, and who remained in active control for nearly 60 years. So strong was his personality, so long was it given unbounded sway, that although delegating powers to others and sincerely meaning to share with others the duties, responsibilities and rewards of the business it was Wanamaker himself who took the vital decisions and assumed the blame, if the outcome was unfavorable.

Like other merchants, as the business expanded, he divided the store into sections according to the kind of merchandise, each in charge of a buyer who under the direction of the Merchandise Office purchased the goods, fixed the terms and prices, and under the Management arranged the selling. To his buyers—who were both men and women—Wanamaker gave great freedom. He liked to call them merchants—and he helped to make them merchants, as though

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they were operating their own stores. He frequently disclaimed that his was a department store, but rather an institution comprising many specialized stores, each complete in itself, although all operating under one ownership, control and policy. These merchant heads were held responsible for the merchandise, turnover, profits, volume of sales, direct expenses and general satisfaction of the customer, but they had no worries of financing, as this was handled by another branch of the business.

John Wanamaker's method of financing was in line with his general policy—to become responsible to no one except himself and his principles. Except in the very early days when his business was growing too fast for his capital and in the periods of national depression, already noted in former chapters, money was usually offered to Wanamaker without his asking for it. Banks offered it. Individuals offered it. And throughout his long career his financing was done almost entirely by means of short-time commercial paper which was always in demand.

His theory was that the business will finance itself—the commercial paper was only a short temporary loan against the outstanding monthly accounts of his customers. He even attempted to finance, in the same way, the erection of new store buildings in New York and Philadelphia. For this purpose, eventually, he was forced much against his inclination to make an issue of bonds. But he never went to Wall Street. He never made a public issue of stock even after incorporation of the business, which was done only for the purpose of continuity. He never entered the bank-

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ing field as some stores have done. He never took deposit accounts. "I want to sleep at nights," he said, "I never want to wake up in the morning and suddenly find that the public is demanding payment of great sums of money which I have asked it to deposit with me."

Commenting on this phase of Wanamaker history, Prof. Gras of Harvard University, already quoted in a former chapter, says: "It seems to me that this financial policy is beyond criticism if it can be made to work, but it is rather dangerous for a large firm to fail to make use of the greatest money power in America, especially in time of crisis, when that money power's assistance may be required. In many respects John Wanamaker's financial policy resembles Henry Ford's. In time of prosperity and smooth sailing that policy is beyond criticism, but in time of crisis it is very dangerous. Of course I know that you have stated the way in which the policy worked out in the year of 1907."

Until about five years before his death John Wanamaker personally made all arrangements governing his finances. He had intimate contact with banking and trust company officials. He negotiated all loans except where they involved real estate, and then he consulted with William L. Nevin, Esq., now managing trustee under Rodman Wanamaker's will.

In planning his finances John Wanamaker confided in no one. He bore all his burdens and took upon himself all the responsibility. Yet when under financial strain, so heavy at times that it would have terrified a less courageous man, he proceeded in his business with lightness of heart and absolute faith in himself. His financing was dictated largely

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by necessity, not by choice. At times he refused to give out financial statements. It was his personality and prestige that carried him through the crisis. He capitalized himself and he won. He was intensely proud of his ability to float his commercial paper not only in local banks, but at times in many parts of the country. Whether he had an anchor to the windward, as was hinted during the stress of 1907-08 when he was attempting to finance the erection of his New York and Philadelphia store buildings without resort to mortgages or bonds—a promise of a loan for a great sum if needed, at a time stock-ticker tapes were running baseless rumors of his failure—will probably never be known. If he had this promise the conclusion that his financial policy was a risky one—good enough in fair weather but inviting disaster in foul—would fall to the ground, as it would appear that he was not lacking in foresight and that he triumphed over a combination of unforeseeable circumstances including breach of faith; that his enemies deliberately tried to trap him, but failed. True it is that during this crisis of 1907-08 Wanamaker's trade obligations ran up to enormous heights, but this was not intentional and the manufacturers who cooperated with him were more than repaid by the great volume of business they received.

"Such was our faith in Mr. Wanamaker," said one who lived with him through some of these financial struggles, "that at no time did the thought of his possible failure ever enter the head of any one associated with him. Whatever the stress, we were always absolutely sure that, in some way, he would find the way through. Looking back we sometimes wonder. But at the time we never doubted. We

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leaned upon him, his cheerfulness and his courage, with the confidence of children in a parent who had never failed them."

John Wanamaker thought the inside operations of his store had no interest to the public, and the Wanamaker method of store-keeping which he publicly proclaimed was not so much the system as it was the basic principles, foundations, policies and ideals of the business. And he believed that the business itself and even the buildings—the deeds rather than the words—best expressed his method of store-keeping.

In laying the cornerstone of the new Philadelphia building, June 12, 1909, after stating that the outcome of the past three or four decades has been a general acceptance throughout America of what is widely known as "The Wanamaker Method," and observing that "this building is a Statute Book of Business Laws and Regulations," he proceeded to this elaboration for the "basic principles whereby commercial affairs are rising to a higher plane."

"THE STARTING POINT.

"The community of interest:

"The humanities—not of theory, but of fact in an individual relation to each individual customer and employee.

"Motif—A high and clear ideal with a determination to preserve the balance of fairness between all concerned.

"The ideas underlying the business which has led in the new order of things, and which has grown to such proportions, are specifically

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"(1) AS TO THE PUBLIC.

"(a) A service exactly opposite to the ancient custom that 'the customer must look out for himself.'

"(b) A kind of store-keeping absolutely new in its ensuring protection from statements, printed or spoken, ignorant or wilful, in reference to origins of merchandise, their qualities and actual values.

"(c) An elimination of so-called privileges of customers, as privileges, when they border on humiliations, because hospitality as well as the return of goods for refunds or reclamations are rights that spenders of money are entitled to as rights, and not as favors.

"(d) Recognizing and practicing the manifest though unwritten law, that customers are entitled under our system to the maximum of satisfactions at the minimum of cost, for the reason that they pay the usual and ordinary expenses of store-keeping, which are always included in the price of merchandise.

"(e) Securing to each individual dealing with us to the last analysis, exactitude of intelligent service and full value for value received in every transaction.

"(2) AS TO THE WORKING PEOPLE.

"(a) An admission as a fundamental principle that workers are entitled to further considerations beyond legal wages, covering their welfare and their education.

"(b) To see that employees are not overreached or overlooked, and making it possible that there shall be nothing between a man and success but himself.

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“(c) To provide education to employees as the only means of doing what legislation or combination cannot do, the improvement of their earning capacity, and thereby assisting to remove the antagonisms of labor and capital, adding to the sum of human happiness.

“(d) That the education provided shall not include the dead languages or other unuseful studies to the detriment of the practical and technical everyday work-studies that aid in making a better living.

“(e) That the education must at the same time go toward the development of character in order to enable the man to better engineer his life to higher living and greater happiness, as well as to earn his daily bread.

“(f) To keep foremost the observance of the spirit as well as the letter of the laws that govern our business transactions and relations to each other.

“(g) A fixed plan of retirement of employees on retired pay to give rest and recreation to the old and chances to the younger people for promotion.

“THE CARDINAL POINTS OF THE BUSINESS.

“(1) The assembling and distribution of the best products of the world upon the most intelligent and economic basis.

“(2) The ablest management, most thorough accuracy of service and because of the fairest treatment of all the workers, from the humblest to the highest, the finest comradeship.

“(3) The life and soul of the business to be its honor.

“(4) That the aim and purpose of the business must always be that as the business rises it must lift every worker with it.”

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Often the Wanamaker method was explained in Wanamaker's private and intimate talks to his business family in which he discussed the store's relationship with the public, and also in his editorial writings in the daily advertising.

"The store takes the side of the customer"—this was always his method in dealing with the public.

And again:

"No one succeeds in his business, to any great extent, who misleads or misrepresents; and any kind of deceptions are hurtful and are sure to lead to ruin."

These were John Wanamaker's two great principles in business—integrity in dealing with the public, and taking the public's point of view.

"We can keep a business only by deserving it," he said to his co-workers. "If we organize and go about it systematically we can get the customers. But the real thing is hard—to keep the customers after we get them."

"Place yourself in the customer's place and give such service as you would like to have given you were you buying instead of selling. (The Golden Rule.)

"Do not be content to simply wait upon the people, but unobtrusively fit yourself to the moods, requirements and conditions of the customer.

"Do not hurry anyone in looking or buying.

"If customers come back with anything for return, be, if possible, more agreeable than if they had come to make other purchases.

"Never offer advice as to customers' selections unless requested so to do.

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"Point out defects, if any, in color, quality or shape.

"Do not allow yourself to talk down other stores.

"Give information and show new goods just arriving without allowing an unspoken grumble to appear on your face."

To his floor managers, whom he liked to call supervisors, he said: "It is not enough to be around with a pencil and make a mark with it. You occupy positions that require tact, good judgment, quick decision, wonderful patience, WONDERFUL PATIENCE, and a wonderful enthusiasm about the things we are doing. The man that is worth more to the business is the man who has technical knowledge, and the nearer he comes to the merchandise the more valuable he is. A man can go around and look handsome, and fill an important place, and his place will always have to be filled, but it is not to be filled by a man who has got the stuff in him to be prepared for some higher place. I want to get away from the word 'aisleman,' just as I want to get away from the name of 'shopgirl.' We are business people, and the standards of business have risen far higher."

To the assistant buyers, whom always he was trying to build up into buyers, he said:

"It is not my fault that you are not all buyers. In this service, however fine the goods are, or how indefatigable the buyer is, going over land and sea to place an order and make the best purchases, however good the advertising, the whole thing goes for nothing, with all our hopes and expectations, if the people are not satisfied. Success all turns on getting the right goods, chosen to get a profit out of

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them; and who could have so much to do with this as the Assistants? I know a good many of you have begun to realize what you ought to be to the business, and what you want to be to the business to set an example, and set a pace for all the business. A great many of you are trying to do that. Some of you are growing. Some of you have not grown anything perceptible in years. I think I have never disappointed any one of you. You may disappoint yourselves, because you don't see yourselves. You look in the glass and you get your mustache properly curled and your hair properly fixed, but you have not looked at your very soul to see what is the matter.

"Well now, I do think that you should be the medium between the buyer and the customer. I don't think that we are such old fogies as I used to think we were. Maybe you are satisfied to just stay around, like a car conductor, always a car conductor. You say 'it is such a big place and we are lost sight of.' Some truth in that, but I would not like to get in a place down on South Street if I wanted to find room to exercise myself. It is only the big places that need big people, and I tell you that new people would not come into this store if we had people of our own who could fill the places. I assure you of that. It is always with great regret that we feel we have to take anybody from without into the organization."

In opening the first December in the completed Philadelphia Store, Wanamaker gave on December 7, 1910, a unique message to his store family, headed "The Knows, the Keeps, the Takes, the Gives"—as follows:

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“Know yourself.

“Know your merchandise.

“Know how to present yourself and your merchandise.

“Keep your mind on your work.

“Keep sweet.

“Keep listening to your customer rather than talking yourself.

“Keep wide awake to effect the sales.

“Keep steady at each transaction until goods are wrapped and on the way to delivery.

“Take care to be accurate.

“Take trouble to be punctual and prompt.

“Take pains to spell back the name, number, street and town of the addresses given you.

“Take no offence under any circumstances.

“Take firm hold of anything that displeases a customer and set it right before leaving it.

“Take sufficient time to avoid mistakes.

“Give sufficient care to suit the customer, so that goods will stay sold.

“Give yourself a little rest between customers, if possible.

“Give a call to the medical director, at his office, if in the least sick, so that you will quickly mend a cold and not have to be absent when the store needs you.”

At another time Wanamaker said to his business chiefs in Philadelphia:

“Would you like me to tell you of my first plan for this building, and how I was educated out of it? The first plan I proposed was very ornate, a building that in itself would

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be wonderfully attractive, with cupolas, and columns, flag-staffs, etc.

"The next plan I had in mind was a building with porticoes and bay windows, etc., built in such a manner as to represent on the outside, say the music room, or the salons of fashions. But suffice it to say that after making 10 or 12 different plans by different architects, I abandoned them all, and said: 'The best expression that we can make in the walls of the building, in the outside appearance of it, is to make them represent what ought to be the principle of the inside. It ought to be strong; it ought to be straightforward, if I can use that term, and it ought to be solid, substantial.' This is how I came to discard everything so far planned and to take this plain, simple building, which is intended to represent what is going on inside of it." And the Philadelphia Store as completed is a model of pure, simple, classic architecture.

Upon another occasion—in 1915—Wanamaker also spoke of the "real thing that makes the business."

"Let us understand the real thing; that it is not the building that makes the business, it is not the merchandise that makes the business, it is the people. I astonished someone last week, as I said: 'When I go downstairs and look around I look very little at the merchandise. I can tell by the air whether the store is in proper form. It is the people that I look at, the people. I cannot help but see the goods, but I see not the goods as much as the people.' I wonder, as I look at the beautiful embroidery, I wonder how some one thought of the color. It is all people, people, people.

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"And I have just a little word to say of these sweet women faces that are looking at me, of how little the public understands business women. They have an idea that it makes them mannish, but we have proved that such is not the case, and that they rank higher because they are business women. I would like this thought impressed upon their minds that in every part of our business we show that kind of courtesy to the women that will at least be equal to the beautiful courtesy of the old Southern gentlemen, and especially the courtesy that I saw yesterday in the little Episcopal church by the sea, where a fellow that I have known for thirty years came in his high hat and his fine dress, in every manner a gentleman, with his old mother, 84 years of age. He sat immediately in front of the minister, but he had no eyes for anyone excepting his old mother. I think she was one of the old women that you read of in a book called 'Cranford,' if you have ever read that book. The woman wore a black silk dress, it looked as though she had hoop skirts on, and yet he showed every attention and courtesy and affection to the feeble woman of 84 years. I would like very much to impress that upon the men to whom I am speaking this morning. I want to ask that by your example you be just as courteous to the women of our store as you possibly can. When a woman drops something, pick it up for her, help her carry her load, and wherever you are, show deference to women. Your mother was a woman. Think of your mother and think of what you would do for her, if she were here."

In launching a new store program in 1916, Wanamaker said to his Store Family:

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"We are just going to be old-fashioned, honest people. Our word is going to be as good as our bond. If we make a promise we must keep it. We must do more than we promise. Just in that little line would be success if we could keep to it;—*to do more than we promise*. Some men in business promise everything in print or by spoken word and then do as little as they can.

"We don't want to publish these things, but this is the inside of our heart, first to stand on our integrity, on principle, on honor, on justice, not only for ourselves, but for our customers and for each other. Let that be the ruling spirit of our lives.

"Now about a definite program,—a plan, well defined, visible, fixed, exact to an inch and to a word, an absolute program. Here is what it contains:

"*First Plank*: Loyalty to the principles adopted. When we first placed this store on the one-price platform it was really horrible to live with the salespeople who felt sorry that we were going to pieces; they were not loyal. Some of them said: 'Why they have gone so far that they won't even give a pair of suspenders when a man buys a suit of clothes.' All these things had to be fought through. We have got to be loyal.

"*Second Plank*: A devotion to the store's progress in teaching other people, helping them to understand it.

"*Third Plank*: Exactitude in performance of duty under unwritten contracts of honor and responsibility. You expect me to keep my contracts even if they are not written or even unspoken. You have a right to expect that of me, and how jealous I am of your good opinion, how I desire to

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have it all the time! Just as these columns are here holding up the building it seems to me that we ought to be in the same position and hold up the business.

"Fourth Plank: The fact that while we have business in two cities, and now there are two stores in Philadelphia in one building (the Downstairs Store and the Main Store), we have but one store. That covers the whole thing, be it a hundred miles away, on any one of the floors, or in the store downstairs. It is just as much my business to help the store in New York as to help the store here. When I write the advertisements, the little bits that are put at the top of the column, I am all the time thinking of the New York Store as well as the Philadelphia Store.

"Fifth Plank: All men and women in this business owe it to themselves and to the business to educate themselves up to the present time. We are not living twenty years back. Everything is changed. People expect different things, different service, different atmosphere, different everything. They expect of us all better preparation. We ought to be prepared in every direction to meet whatever the expectation is at the present time. It is safe to say that all methods of service have changed and people cannot be treated as they have been in olden times. It is not sufficient to just let things drift.

"Sixth Plank: Unwritten coöperation of every individual with the other from the humblest to the highest, and from the oldest to the youngest, without frowns, grumbles, or jealousies to help the younger people. Put aside your feelings. We have had buyers who when they left destroyed all their books and letters they got from our customers, who

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tore up everything they could before they had left us, because of some fancied grievance or prejudice which they might have against us. Now that is a terrible thing to do, and a very wrong thing to do.

"Seventh Plank: The man in charge of any section must be the captain of that part of our great ship, and our great ship is practically a fleet of ships. They should be on their DECKS,—I did not say at their desks, I said, 'they should be on their decks'—before the business begins. That may be hard on you but not a bit harder than it used to be when you always did it. I always feel if I am not here when the first door opens, that I ought to be fined, because I don't want you to do what I won't do."

John Wanamaker was always the pioneer. He was ahead of the age in which he lived. His innovations in business never ceased. Every few years he would do something new and advanced. But it may surprise the business world to learn that in 1917 he had in mind, and had actually prepared, ready to submit to the Congress at Washington an act "to provide for the nationalization of the retail mercantile business of the United States, to lessen the extravagances of competitive expenses and to create a federal control to regulate retail merchandising, in order to prevent needless multiplication of operations, wastefulness, and for such other purposes to improve public service."

He submitted this proposed act to only a few of his associates, with an injunction of secrecy. Their criticisms and views were sent back to him where the matter rested. He

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took no steps to make public the project. Probably his own views were not yet fully crystallized or he thought the time not ripe for action. The act called for a 45-hour week; weekly half holidays; all-day closing on Sunday (except Jewish shops if closed from sunset on Friday to sunset on Saturday); full holidays on New Year's Day, Good Friday, Easter Monday, Memorial Day, Fourth of July, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day; also on the birthdays of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, U. S. Grant, and Robert E. Lee, and on Labor Day in such states as by their statutes made this day a legal holiday.

It suggested a regulation of certain retail practices, because of their abuse and not of their proper use, such as: comparative prices in advertising, return of merchandise for credit or cash, goods sent home on approval, special deliveries and goods held in storage for deferred delivery, and C. O. D. deliveries.

It suggested governmental regulation of the manufacturing, importation and sale of the whole great class of merchandise usually known as "dry-goods," bringing them within Federal control similar to that authorized by the "Pure Food and Drug Act," specifically to embody a clear definition of standards of merchandise and to provide for a label to be issued that may be used in connection with all standard goods similar to the pure food and drug label.

Government control of business was in the air when Wanamaker made these private proposals for the purpose of discussion. The Great War was on, and the United States was soon to enter the struggle. If retail business was to be controlled by the government, Wanamaker no doubt

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thought that he should try to show the proper way to proceed. He was not, however, a believer in government control in business, always maintaining that the freedom of competition was control enough.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE WANAMAKER METHOD IN ADVERTISING

THROUGH all his activities from manhood on there emanated from John Wanamaker a radio wave of publicity. He was a broadcaster of ideas. When a new thought came into his mind and he believed it would be of service to the public, he gave it to the people. In his public life, in his championing of the people's cause as a citizen, in his church activities, but most of all in his career as merchant, he touched the imagination of the people and galvanized it into action by use of that electric force which is known as dramatic publicity, and which in business is called advertising.*

"Talk things over with the people," he would say, "take them wholly and sincerely into your confidence, tell the facts—and business will come, if your merchandise and service warrant it"—but he would tell the facts in a dramatic manner.

Always an exponent of truth in advertising, he used in business usually the word *facts* rather than truth, and *accuracy* rather than truthfulness, avoiding any semblance of using his prominence in the Church as an advertisement of his store. He invited business not on moral grounds, but on

* Because advertising and merchandising were so closely related in the pioneering activities of John Wanamaker, certain advertising developments, having been presented chronologically in previous chapters, are omitted from this chapter.

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the scientific and economic basis of service—which included, of course, in his code, an integrity as strict as his own.

In his very first business announcement, in opening Oak Hall, although this announcement consisted only of a single sentence in small type, he struck a dramatic note—"having purchased the goods under the pressure of the times (Civil War) we will sell them accordingly." This was in 1861.

Following for a time the local custom in Philadelphia of using "advertising jingles," and passing through a short Barnum period of advertising balloons and tally-hos and big posters in the country districts, he did the dramatic thing again when he wrote and published in 1865 his famous "money-back" guarantee, saying "if any article *does not please the folks at home*, return the goods and get your money back." The money-back privilege was revolutionary enough, but "pleasing the folks at home" was the sure way to get it into the minds of the people.

In 1874 he published the first copyrighted advertisement in America, announcing "a great stride up and over business customs." Some of its language was flamboyant, but the facts were fully and unreservedly told and what amazing facts they were! Not only one price and money back, which were already fixed in Wanamaker's business, but a guarantee of merchandise and price. The price was guaranteed to be "not the first price, but the last and lowest price; not the top price, but the very bottom price." The merchandise was guaranteed "exactly as represented." And labels were attached to the merchandise giving name and quality—various colored tickets showing first, second and third grade. These guarantees were made over the name of the firm on

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printed slips accompanying each purchase—"a warrantee," the advertisement said, "that will be honored as quickly as a good draft of the government of the United States." It was truly a "New Constitution," as the store called it, a new constitution of business and of advertising.

The same principles were announced again in 1876 when the Grand Depot was opened, showing they had stood the test of experience.

In 1877 with the opening of the "New Kind of Store" a new form of advertising was used—the interview and reportorial style. Wanamaker gave out an interview with himself, in which he told his reasons for adding women's fashions to his stocks, asking "why not?" when the objection was made that this was not in his line, "who has a patent on merchandising?" To the question: "You don't mean to exchange a pattern cut off for a dress?" he replied, "yes, just that and more—we shall give back the money paid if desired," adding, when asked what effect this would have on other store-keepers: "the real question is whether the people will be served by it or not."

This was human advertising. He was talking right out to the people about things which vitally interested them. It was the beginning in a large way of what is known to this day as the "Wanamaker style" of advertising; a style born of Wanamaker's own genius and personality, and however handled by various advertising writers whom he employed when the business grew large, it continued to be Wanamaker's own style in its spirit.

In the early "eighties," Wanamaker advertising began to take the form of single-column "talks," set in pica type to

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be easily read, occupying from a column to several columns a day in the newspapers. These talks were frank, plain and fearless. They did not gloss defects of the store or of the merchandise. They did not exaggerate or paint in lurid colors.

If a fashionable fabric was frail and would not give good wear, the public was told this fact.

If goods had an appearance that might deceive, the store advertised them in this way: "They look better than they are, but worth a quarter, we guess."

If prices seemed high because the goods were novelties and luxuries, the store said: "Looks like lace-bunting, but the makers don't call it so. The price is monstrous, but that's none of our business."

If a special value were offered, the store said something like this: "We are not quite satisfied to speak of it as below value, but it will pass as a good example of close buying."

Selling by suggestion—even before psychology brought this method to the front—was used: "We rarely speak of these embroideries in the papers because they go so quickly and so few can be got."

Markdowns before stock-taking were announced in this manner: "We 'take stock' on New Year's; that is, count everything and value everything. There are things that we don't like to count; things that ought to have gone last week, or when cold weather began; things that are likely to be in the way and make care for months to come, and get damaged, and be old when their season begins again. It is wise to let such things go easily, have their room and begin anew next year."

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An invitation to shop was thus expressed: "A lady having her want in mind in a general way will often find that want made much more definite by a look through our range of goods kindred to that want. She has need of great collections of goods to look at, as a means of information, of sharpening her wit and of maturing her choice, to say nothing of protection against overcharging."

By 1887 the store was able to announce: "We have proved that truth-telling advertising is not only right but politic"—placing truth on a business basis as the store had already placed business on a truth basis.

The national advertising of Wanamaker's reflected the same personality. This announcement which appeared in the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* in December, 1882, is typical:

"One merchant of them all (and he does the most business of them all) sends his goods to any part of the United States, with the privilege of returning them, if not satisfactory. Just that one privilege, broadly given, is his title to his trade.

"John Wanamaker made and sold clothing in Philadelphia twenty years ago, and his trade spread over the whole country. People wrote for samples of cloth, and received them, with fashion plates, and instructions how to get themselves measured. They sent on their orders, received their clothes, and sent them back, if they didn't fit. Rather hard on the merchant; but he bore it, and thrived by it.

"Why shouldn't he sell everything as well as clothes? So five years ago he began to spread out. He bought the old

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freight station of the Pennsylvania Railroad, put a few towers and minarets on it, and painted it, so that everybody might see that it had changed uses, and turned it into a great, rough, unhandsome store. Still everything that didn't suit was to be sent back. Others have good wares; others sell them at fair prices; but nobody else dealt with such brave liberality. The new business grew faster than the old. To-day it is the largest on the continent.

"He deals in everything, almost. People in the most distant states and territories write to him for everything. If he does not happen to deal in the article they want, even then, sometimes, he gets it for them, and takes the risk of its being right.

"Mr. Wanamaker imports, buys of the maker, and retails and pays very little attention to the prices of others. He is called an underseller; he is an underseller whenever he can undersell at a fair profit. But he plays no tricks at underselling a few things to cover overselling everything else. His prices are pretty apt to be below the market."

Another item which appeared in *Scribner's* of July, 1880, is interesting mainly for its original form of presentation. It is as follows:

"Stray Leaf from a Young Lady's Journal—

March 15

"Wrote to Mr. Wanamaker for samples of New Spring dress goods. He will get the letter tomorrow.

March 17

"Early mail brought the samples, and I am delighted with them. Will order dress today. How very prompt they always are at the Grand Depot."

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March 19

"My goods came this morning. Cousin Annie was here today and wore the new dress that she went to the city to buy. It took two days of her time, and made her very tired, besides paying travelling expenses. She liked mine best, and thinks the reason is that she had to hurry in buying, while I had plenty of time to examine the samples at home.

March 22nd

"Cousin Annie wants some more things and asked me to write for a new number 3 catalogue, that gives directions for ordering samples and goods. I did so on a postal card, and directed it—

John Wanamaker

The Largest Dry Goods
and Outfitting House

Grand Depot
Philadelphia."

By 1890 Wanamaker advertising was being copied so generally by other stores that the store announced: "17 quotations found in the East and the whole advertisement copied bodily in the West."

The first full newspaper page of advertising was published in 1879 by John Wanamaker during General Grant's reception in Philadelphia, and full page announcements were being published regularly in 1888.

With this expansion in size of the Wanamaker advertising, it became necessary to organize an advertising staff of writers. Wanamaker took great care in the selection of these writers and personally trained and developed them. He placed women on the staff—to talk to women. He searched the newspapers for talent—bringing reporters and editors into the business. He developed men and women writers from within the organization. But he never let go the reins of his advertising, except during the four years in official

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Washington, and even then his direction remained with the staff in his own personality that persisted in the store even in his absence.

About 1900 Wanamaker advertising began to take on a distinctly newsy character. The staff was then organized as a newspaper staff. As a guide to his advertising writers Wanamaker formulated an advertising program and platform. It is in force in large part at this day and is as follows:

The Wanamaker' Advertising Programme

"The fundamental first step is to write the opposite of what is generally understood to be good advertising. In other words, genuinely good advertising must give in wording something that will be read about the goods that are wanted and that will clearly state exactly what the goods are;—to paint the goods in colors that you want the people to see, whether it is the true color or not, in order to effect a sale, is the thing to be avoided.

"It is generally known that common advertising is like barrels of seed in which half of the seed is dead. If general advertising were believed, and the goods of the value stated, stores could be made twice as large and business twice as good, but the fact that the advertising does not produce its full results proves there must be a better way to do it.

"We used to say that it was only necessary to put the name of the store in the newspaper and repeat it, that the space might be filled in a striking manner, and that this was all that was necessary—to get the name of the store before the public. We have learned that this kind of advertising isn't valuable.

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"Newspaper statements must tell plainly and interestingly of the goods that are to be sold. To do this the writers must start by becoming thoroughly acquainted with the goods before they attempt to write about them. They must actually see them and handle them and then their statement must be accurate in every particular.

"In writing advertising it must always be kept in mind that the customer often knows more about the goods than the advertising writers because they have had experience in buying them, and any *seeming* deception in a statement is costly, not only in the expense of the advertising but in the detrimental effect produced upon the customer, who believes she has been misled.

"Good work cannot be done in a hurry, neither can one make a perfect picture at the first go-off.

"Advertising should be information about the merchandise that will be helpful to the customer in satisfactory purchasing. It should answer the questions about the merchandise that the customer would naturally ask the salesperson were she here in the store at the time she reads. It must not be what the merchant wants to say about the goods in order to force them upon the public, and it is not to help sick departments or to create business in a department where business is not deserved, but it merely should tell the story of the store as it is each day and give the news that will most aid the customers.

"Of course, all this must be placed in attractive form, first to get the attention of the reader, second to get her interest, third to get her confidence and fourth to get her into the store.

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"The best attitude of mind for an advertiser to be in is: 'I am the customer, now what do I really want to know about these goods that will tell me whether I want them or not?' Advertising writers really ought to forget that their business is to sell the goods—they will sell them all the better for not thinking of this part of their work.

"There should be no introduction and no conclusions—say what you have to say and then stop—or better still let the goods do the talking.

Wanamaker Advertising Platform

"1. When orders are passed, the buyer of the merchandise shall be interviewed by the Merchandise Office, and the facts, news, stories, and reasons for the purchase be written down and scheduled, the schedule to be given to the Advertising Bureau as an aid in making out assignments and allotments of advertising space and in the preparation of copy.

"2. Daily reports shall be procured from the Receiving and Stock Rooms of important shipments arriving, and the goods inspected.

"3. Advertisements shall be written by the advertising writers only upon personal inspection of the merchandise and conference with the buyers or assistants.

"4. The daily advertisement shall be in type each day by four o'clock to be verified in the following particulars:

- (a) As to accuracy of statement.
- (b) As to the pulling power of the advertising.
- (c) As to the tersifying of the advertisement to save wastage and money without losing the brightness of the page. Often a thing can be said in two lines

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to which three or four lines are devoted, without hurt either to the sense, the clearness, or the attractiveness.

(d) As to the reputation the statement will bring to the store generally.

(e) As to the English and the French used.

"5. Each writer shall be assigned certain departments to study, and prepare advertisements in advance on regular stocks of merchandise.

"6. Editorials, general articles on service, convenience, store equipment, etc., shall be prepared in advance as needed.

"7. Sentences shall not begin, except where unavoidable, with 'the' or 'a' or commonplace words.

"8. Commonplace and trite headlines shall always be avoided.

"9. Headings shall tell enough to indicate the kind of merchandise and whether men's, women's, children's or for the house, and should always be original and enthusiastic.

"10. Understate and never exaggerate.

"11. If the statement of a bare fact is likely to be unbelievable, explain enough about it to make it carry confidence.

"12. Always give the reason for a special price or extra quality.

"13. Use short, direct, vigorous sentences and unhackneyed though plain words.

"14. Tell the whole truth, even though it hurts. Conceal nothing the customer has a right to know.

"15. Remember that advertising costs more than a cablegram, so save unnecessary words.

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"16. Don't overload the advertisement with descriptions, prices and other details.

"17. Write only enough to bring the customer to the store—but take care that she is not disappointed with the goods advertised when she does come.

"18. Don't use such small type that old people cannot read it.

"19. Remember always that next to merchandise and service, it is the advertisement that adds to or detracts from a store's reputation and character.

"20. Advertise each article with the idea of building up business for the whole store instead of merely getting business on that article.

"21. The classes of goods must be arranged in the papers in orderly fashion, the harmony of the page to be observed by keeping dress goods, silks, linings, etc., together; by not putting diamonds against dishpans, candy, etc.

"22. Almost every newspaper has a different clientele. Study should be made of its constituency, and the copy prepared for that clientele—women's goods in women's papers, men's goods in men's papers, sporting goods in sporting papers, etc.

"23. The members of the advertising force shall specialize in certain departments, with a view to educating themselves so thoroughly in the merchandise that they will be qualified to contribute advertisements on these departments suitable for the different clienteles of any of the papers."

Wanamaker always upheld the dignity as well as the integrity of advertising as a profession, although he would

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not employ what he called "professional advertisers." One of his editorials in 1915 was headed "No Professional Advertising." He said:

"This business was created in the life-time of its founders who have owned it from the first. They personally attend to its affairs every day and all day. Its advertising is not the whirligig of a professional advertiser bent and beaten into any and every conceivable form to catch people's attention, but it is the straight out-and-out fact of just what the store is, and what is going on in it day by day. It is actual news of fresh merchandise selected solely for consumers and freshened by large daily sales requiring daily replenishing."

Again he said: "To speak truly of the store and its merchandise is the whole of advertising."

One day at a meeting of the store chiefs he asked the advertising writers to remain for a conference, saying: "I am afraid that we are getting a little spirit of exaggeration into our advertising. I am afraid of it. I read the advertising and I sometimes wonder that we do not need all the policemen in the city to keep the people from killing each other to get into the store to take the goods. I do, indeed, and there are only two conclusions I can come to—(1) either the goods are not what you think they are; or (2) the advertising isn't true."

At another time he wrote: "No person who wilfully misrepresents qualities or values can remain in our employ a single hour after the fact is investigated and established"—adding this human touch: "recognizing and making allowances for the fallibility of workers, the store which seems like a living thing and its workers all alive may make mis-

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takes unintentionally (all too frequently), but each of us will be quick to rectify them as soon as we are told."

To new writers whom he was training he handed a paper on which he had written these injunctions:

"First: Get your mind clear that what is currently believed and commonly known as newspaper advertising is not what Mr. Wanamaker considers proper advertising for his business.

"Second: Endeavor to realize that the deceitfulness and actual frauds attempted by many advertisers are some of the practices that have lowered the level of the mercantile calling and of an advertising writer's position, as no conscientious person could fill the average place.

"Third: Change your occupation if you cannot at the outset settle forever that the writing of advertising aimed at educating the public in the knowledge of merchandise, art and literature, and in teaching to employees good English and proper service, is worthy of an educator and affords a career as honorable and useful as almost any other field of teaching or literary work.

"Fourth: These axioms accepted should enable one to put mind, heart and soul into successful though not easy work.

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"The first steps up to the door of the house of effective advertising are:

"First: An intelligent conception of what is to be done.

"Second: A vision of the ideals that underlie the business.

"Third: The consciousness and certainty of flowing geysers of the fresh water of news.

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"Fourth: Confidence in the fact that no other business, as a whole, exists that can be classed with the one in which we are engaged, in point of character and variety of merchandise, service to customers, methods of advertising, education of the public and employees and the final finish of every transaction to the satisfaction of all parties concerned.

"Fifth: Because of the foregoing, the presentation of the business to the public is worthy of the best of our talents, the most careful schooling of ourselves for preparation and the finest enthusiasms. Therefore it is a waste of time to be making comparisons with the businesses of shopkeepers who are not merchants. To further our work we must cut out the commonplace, blaze new roads and drive on with our advertising team in the lead of all others—never following but always setting the pace and style.

"Sixth: The member of our staff who will be most valuable is the person who keeps abreast of the current thought of the day, as spread out in the daily newspapers, magazines and current literature. Some portion of every day ought to be spent in reading, clipping and filing.

"Seventh: Truth in merchandise and truth in advertising must be our slogan."

The fundamental purpose of Wanamaker advertising may be summed up in nine words: "Not to sell, but to help people to buy." Wanamaker advertising is written from the consumer's point of view, not from the seller's.

To one of his writers Wanamaker once remarked: "The best thing you have ever said about Wanamaker advertising is that you always stand in my shoes when you write it."

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There was no egotism in this remark. He was simply stating the fact that Wanamaker advertising was John Wanamaker himself, speaking to the people.

He believed in persistent advertising—"if there is any one thing a quitter should let alone it is advertising."

He believed in newspaper advertising—"if I ever have a Columbus monument in advertising," he said, "it will be for the discovery that the advertising of instant benefit to merchant and customer is in the daily newspaper of known circulation."

He believed in day-in and day-out talks in the newspapers, presented in plain, simple form, saying to his associates: "Remember, Mr. Advertising Writer, it is the fine, steady rain that soaks through."

Often, towards the close of his life, he uttered a warning, both public and private, against the growing extravagance both of advertising space and advertising copy. "People are beginning to resent the extravagance of copy," he said. "They are tired of careless, big flaring type headlines that do not mean anything. If the newspapers are going to save themselves and be useful to the public and to the merchant who advertises in them, they will have to double their advertising rates, thus reducing faithful advertising to its proper proportions and cutting out altogether the wasteful and false advertising."

The debt the newspapers of America owe to Wanamaker advertising was referred to in one of his editorials written in 1916:

"It is a matter easily verified by comparisons of today's papers with the papers issued fifty years ago that but little

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advertising was done in those days. This business created a necessity for advertising that obliged others to advertise, and enabled the newspapers to double and treble their pages and reduce their prices to the people. Were it not for the advertisers the newspapers would either be obliged to cut down their papers to fewer pages or to halve the size of each page.

"Just as this store led in creating the present-day cheaper and larger newspaper, it has led by its store-keeping to the better store-keeping of this and other cities. The speech of this store is to use in its advertisements as few words as possible and to mean every word that is printed or spoken.

"There is as much care taken in gathering true merchandise, and in telling the truth about it, not only in the advertisements, but over the counter, as there is in regarding the healthfulness of the store buildings and keeping them proof against fire and accident.

"We make our advertising without braggadocio or exaggeration, with the simplest words that we can use, and all persons employed in the store who handle the goods would know that we were guilty of falsehood if a single word were printed that was not true, because one of their duties is to read every advertisement every morning before they do anything else."

At other times he said: "Merchants should be more than drizzlers of wordy advertising. . . . Like butter, much advertising, when spread too thickly on the bread, is nauseating . . . we shall stop advertising when it seems necessary to make you believe something that is not true."

CHAPTER XXVII

THE WANAMAKER METHOD WITH MERCHANDISE

WHILE I have tried to make money," said John Wanamaker, "I have tried harder to make business my servant in bettering my people and bettering the community." He bettered the community by raising the standard of living—elevating the standard of the things the people live with in their homes, changing their canons of taste by bringing from all parts of the world the highest type of creative genius, and by reproducing its art, wherever possible, at little cost.

He laid the foundation for the world-wide quest of art and fashion in merchandise that later transformed his stores into museums and expositions freely open to the enjoyment and education of the people, when he announced on December 23, 1880: "Mr. Andrew Butler sails today to open an office in Paris as a permanent facility in buying goods." Here again he stepped ahead of American retail merchants who were still buying from importers, or through foreign commissionaires.

Wanamaker had gone to Europe first in 1871.* His first

* John Wanamaker's visits abroad were made in 1871, 1875, 1880, 1881, 1885, 1887, 1888, 1894 (the hiatus caused by his duties in Washington as Postmaster-General), 1895, 1896 (Palestine and Egypt), 1898, 1899, 1901, 1902 (India), 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912—when the World War terminated his visits.

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visit to Paris was in 1875, when he was planning his New Kind of Store. He sent his first buyer abroad in 1876, "to study foreign markets and skim the cream." By 1878 he was announcing: "Almost every steamer brings in goods from Europe where we have at present our buyer." By 1879: "Lady manager made personal selections in Europe."

But personal selections in Europe were not enough. They were only periodical. He must have a merchandise watch tower in Europe every day in the year, and the watch tower must be in Paris. The finest stores in Europe were there. Art was there. Fashion was there. He wanted to link art and fashion with merchandise and make displays as the Paris stores made them.

So the Paris House of John Wanamaker was opened early in 1881 in temporary quarters at 22 rue Richer, and a little later in its own offices in the rue du Faubourg Poissonnière. Its influence was quickly felt. By 1883 Wanamaker was specializing his general store. He placed his merchant buyers in charge of specialty shops within the store. "Wanamaker's merchants," he announced, "buy many more goods than specialty shopkeepers dream of. The more these men buy the better they buy. They don't slight New York. But they also cross the ferry to Europe . . . where most of the finer goods come from. Wanamaker's merchants go right to Europe after them, and they have first pick . . . and so the best things in all Europe fairly flow into our establishment."

In 1886, John Wanamaker's son, Rodman, just graduated from Princeton, came into the store to learn the business, first in the invoice service where he unpacked and handled merchandise, becoming acquainted with its texture, quality,

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fashion, art and value. In 1888, having served an apprenticeship in various parts of the store, he was sent to the Paris House to continue his training there and represent the business.

Rodman quickly Americanized the office. He installed the first typewriter in Paris—a Remington. But he, himself, became for the time Parisianized in order to learn. With a young and open mind he studied the arts as they were exemplified in Europe. Not only the arts of painting and sculpture, of fashions and jewels, of textile and plastic arts, of books and manuscripts, but of artistic interiors, tapestries, antique furnishings and authentic reproductions. He studied the museums, the palaces, the famous old homes and châteaux. He collected old documents and books. Above all he studied the French creative mind.

As resident manager of the Paris House, Rodman soon caused consternation and dismay back home as he began sending to the store in a steady stream the finest products of Europe. He was ahead of his day in America. "We didn't know what to make of it," John Wanamaker was fond of telling the story. "Thomas (his other son) and I began to think Rodman had gone out of his head. We didn't understand the things he was sending over. We didn't know how to sell them. We tried to curb him. He wouldn't be curbed. I was in Washington. Mr. Ogden and Thomas were in charge of the business. They went through a trying time." . . . "Now, I know what he was about (he said many years later), and I am humbly appreciative of the uplift Rodman gave to the business."

France appreciated what the younger Wanamaker was

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doing in furthering the reciprocal trade relations and friendship with the United States and in 1897 the French Government made him a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, raising him to the rank of Officer in 1907 and Commander (a rank rarely conferred on a foreigner) in 1920.

Rodman Wanamaker returned to Philadelphia in 1898, was made a partner in the business in 1902, became resident manager of the New York Store in 1911, and sole owner of the entire Wanamaker business by gift from his father before his death.

John Wanamaker began to acquire pictures in the early eighties. He loved them not alone for their art, but for the story they told. When Sedelmeyer, noted Parisian art dealer, brought to America in 1886 Munkácsy's famous painting: "Christ Before Pilate" John Wanamaker bought it. In 1887 he purchased the companion picture "Christ on Calvary." He would not exhibit these religious canvases publicly in the store, but he permitted them to be shown at the Paris Exposition and at the Chicago World's Fair. Sedelmeyer was so deeply attached to these paintings that his last expressed wish was to come to America and see them again before he died—saying "I love them as my children."

Rodman Wanamaker saw in the Paris Salon of 1892 Pierre Fritel's huge canvas "Les Conquérants," depicting the world conquerors—Sesostris, Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon. It was a tragic picture, but it told a powerful and dramatic story of the horrors of ruthless conquest. Following his father's leadership, Rodman bought the picture in 1893. This canvas could be hung publicly. When it was exhibited in the Phila-

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delphia Store it created a sensation that lasted for many years.

Paintings now began coming to Wanamaker's from the Paris Salons every year until from the 1903 Salon more than 250 canvases were purchased, and a cable went back to the Paris House: "Stop: we cannot find space to hang them all." But by 1906 the store was announcing: "The United States Customs records will show that out of the Paris Salons we have in the last ten years purchased upwards of 600 paintings for our galleries in Philadelphia and New York." John Wanamaker purchased most of them. "I can no more help buying pictures," he said, "than the Paris housewife can help buying flowers when she goes marketing." When he couldn't find space to hang them in his two stores he removed some to his home at Lindenhurst. In 1902 he bought the entire studio collection of the Bohemian painter, Vacslav Brozik—some 300 paintings, water colors and sketches.

He gathered many works of art and records of history for institutions other than his own. A member of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Museum (vice-president at the time of his death), he coöperated in founding the Archæological Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, and presented its first collection of North American Indian antiquities gathered on an expedition which he financed in 1900 under the direction of Dr. Stewart Culin. In 1902 when in Naples he commissioned the Chiurazzi foundry to reproduce all the bronzes found at Pompeii and Herculaneum and presented the set—nearly 400 pieces—to the University Museum, after they were shown at the St. Louis Exposition. In 1916 he financed an expedition to Alaska under the

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auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, to procure specimens of the native handicraft.

Great as was the impression made on America by Wanamaker importations of contemporary European art, the importations of merchandise had even a greater influence. These not only stimulated the appreciation and taste of the people, but inspired American manufacturers and designers to greater endeavor and a finer product.

"What the Paris schools of art are doing and have done for America," said John Wanamaker on Franco-American Day celebrated in the store in 1916, "placed another obligation on us. A member of our organization (Rodman) has been since 1893 successively governor, vice-president and is now president of the American Art Association of Paris, with which he has been closely affiliated the past thirteen years." Rodman Wanamaker had founded this association in 1899.

In 1890 the Wanamaker Paris House took new quarters at 5 rue Rougemont, and in 1899 became established at 44 rue des Petites Ecuries in its own building that is one of the landmarks of the city, a survey recently made by the commission of Old Paris showing it to be a famous old home, the inspiration of the celebrated architects, de Montreuil and Leroux. From the Paris House contact is had with all the merchandise centers of Europe.

In 1909 Wanamaker Houses were opened in Japan at Yokohama—later, when the earthquake destroyed much of the city, removed to Kobe; and in China at Shanghai. From this Far East center, buying connections are maintained with India and all parts of the Orient.

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Wanamaker representatives now encircle the world every year and sometimes twice a year, on their buying trips. Eastern rugs are selected in their home markets and imported direct. And the Eternal Arts of the East, especially of China, are more completely represented in Wanamaker's than in any other American store.

Since 1893 seasonal presentations of Paris fashions have been made in Wanamaker's, featuring the creations of the great couturiers, and in 1908, "Paris Conferences" were inaugurated, bringing Paris even more intimately to America.

In 1909 the Wanamaker Paris House published a fashion journal "*La Dernière Heure à Paris*" which was circulated in America, and later merged in "*Store and Home*," a Wanamaker publication.

Upon the completion of the new Wanamaker building in New York there opened in 1907 *The House Palatial*, a two-story house which John Wanamaker had constructed as an integral part of the building for the better presentation of the decorative arts. It was visited by a million people during the first year. Later the house became *Belmaison*, the studio of the Wanamaker staff of interior decorators, that has become of national importance. Having sold antiques as early as 1881, the store organized a gallery of antiques in 1912, under the name "*Au Quatrième*" which is now known on two continents. This branch of the business, Rodman Wanamaker fostered and strengthened until now it is the peer of any in the world. In the same manner the Oriental House was developed until its exhibits now rank with those in museums.

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The London House of John Wanamaker was established in 1911 at 12 Red Lion Court, later moved to 13 and 14 Pall Mall East, and then to 26 Pall Mall where it now occupies its own building facing the historic Carlton Club and reaching back to St. James' Square. This house is the buying center for Great Britain with connections in Australia, giving particular attention to men's fashions, women's sports wear and children's fashions, in which London is the inspiration for the world.

In one of the store announcements this list was published of the countries which Wanamaker's scours in the quest for art and fashion in merchandise:

United States of America	Austria	Roumania
England	Sweden	China
Scotland	France	Japan
Ireland	Spain	India
Australia	Belgium	Arabia
Denmark	Switzerland	Persia
Holland	Italy	Morocco
Norway	Germany	Algeria
		Bulgaria
		Manchuria
		Asia Minor
		Philippines
		Tibet
		Straits Settlements
		Czecho-Slovakia

With all this world-wide quest for merchandise John Wanamaker was buying more than 90 per cent of his stocks in America, and this percentage is maintained today, except in old-world antiques and works of art which America does not create. "American goods first" was always his policy, and in 1904 he inaugurated "American Week" which brought world-attention to American products. In the celebration of his Silver Anniversary in 1901, and in succeeding anniversaries, he turned his store into an industrial exposition, installing looms and machinery to show the manufacture of

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American merchandise. Always he gave to home industries his first and full coöperation. And they profited by his searching out of world-markets that gave new inspiration and stimulus to a higher creative art and genius at home.

And Rodman Wanamaker's zeal for France was for her creative genius that in art and fashion and merchandise of all kinds benefits the whole world—most of all America. "Give encouragement to the business men, the working-men of France," he said in 1926 when there was some feeling between the two countries over the settlement of the French war debt, "and we shall find that they will astonish the world. . . . Let us be done with carping and criticisms. Let ill-formed and uninformed hold their peace while the real working interests of France are rehabilitated."

America will benefit, he showed in another statement, because "I believe America will have most of the leading factories of the world in the days to come. She will train men with business minds to control them and to enact wise and stimulating legislation. The older countries, being rich in all that is valuable from the artistic standpoint, will surely be drained of much that they have by the power of the wealth of America in the days to come. Institutions of many kinds are being established here that far over-reach those of other countries. The temperaments of Americans are so ambitious that they have, within the short period of fifty years, developed a skill to make money in trade and in commerce that is unparalleled in human history. . . . There is a period creeping on, slowly perhaps, but surely, of America's shaping through the vast business control the new world spirit and history."

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE WANAMAKER ADVENTURES WITH MUSIC

RELIGIOUS fervor and love of music, fostered by the open-hearted singing in church and Sunday school, brought another departure in John Wanamaker's method of store-keeping. "Why can't we bring more music into the lives of the people?" he said. So, starting in the historic days when the Philadelphia store was housed in the old Pennsylvania Railroad freight depot, he erected a small organ in the center, and the store was opened and closed with the singing of familiar melodies by employees and public. This was not intended as advertising, but as an answer to his own question, and to bring music into contact with daily work.

His next question was born of the first: "Why should we not bring more music into the homes of the people? Why should we not sell pianos?" It was not being done by general stores even as late as 1899. Piano stores were a sort of sacred institution, separate and apart, but most of them were doing the business very badly. Though practically all other merchandise was being retailed on a fixed price basis, pianos were still sold by haggle and barter.

When Wanamaker added pianos to his stocks, old-line piano stores professed great horror. "Wanamaker is commercializing the piano business," they said. And so he was—

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commercializing it in a way they little dreamed of. Even the public was slow to understand. Not a piano was sold on the first day, April 15, 1899. People came and looked but did not buy. Soon, however, they began to realize the new opportunity that had come to them—and one of the great piano businesses of America developed at Wanamaker's.

But it was not enough to offer pianos and musical instruments for sale and to sell them at one price. It was not enough merely to place pianos in the homes of the people. John Wanamaker believed it a business duty to go still farther—to educate the public in the love and helpfulness of music. And so, with the construction of the new store buildings in New York and Philadelphia, auditoriums were built into them—Egyptian Hall in Philadelphia and the Auditorium in New York, each seating about 1,500 and each equipped with a pipe organ.

When asked why he gave so much space to music, John Wanamaker replied: "I believe it to be true that every baby is born with a song in its mouth; we are in quest of that song." This typically Wanamaker epigram was, in fact, only another way of expressing the thought so poetically voiced by Bulwer-Lytton when he wrote: "Music, once admitted to the soul, becomes a sort of spirit, and never dies."

John Wanamaker believed in practical demonstrations of his ideals. He knew how to crystallize dreams into facts. Moreover, he was unafraid of precedent. Indeed, in his music adventures, as in his business ventures, he created precedents. Therefore, it is not surprising that in 1896 he invited the great German composer, Richard Strauss, then in America, to give concerts in the newly-opened New York store.

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Strauss accepted and directed a symphony orchestra before thousands of invited guests, to the great consternation of the music world. Accused of commercializing his art, Strauss is said to have replied to the effect that if his music was good music it would be just as good in Wanamaker's as anywhere else. John Wanamaker said nothing, believing he was doing a worthy thing in thus bringing music to thousands of people.

The Strauss concert was the forerunner of thousands of free daily concerts in the Wanamaker auditoriums which have not only brought business good-will but have long since won world-wide renown, not only for the high artistic standards maintained, but also for the public-spirited philanthropy prompting them.

A list of the artists who have appeared in these concerts includes some of the most famous names in contemporary music. Hundreds of artists who have since climbed to fame found in these concerts their introduction to musical public life. Among the leaders in music who were associated with these earlier events were George W. Chadwick, director of the New England Conservatory of Music; Horatio Parker, then dean of the School of Music at Yale University; composers such as Arthur Foote, Reginald de Koven, Harriet Ware, Charles Wakefield Cadman, Charles Griffes, Walter Kramer; singers such as David Bispham, Anna Case, Forrest Lamont, Reinald Werrenrath; pianists such as Leopold Godowsky, Leo Ornstein, Emil Sauer, Mark Hambourg, Ernst von Dohnányi, Richard Buhlig; violinists such as Thaddeus Rich, Hans Letz, Sascha Jacobson, Maud Powell; harpists, Carlos Salzedo and Salvatore de Stefano; and

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in the organ world, Pietro Yon, Clarence Eddy, Archer Gibson, Alexander Russell, and many others.

Explaining his purpose in making music so great a part of the Wanamaker method of store-keeping John Wanamaker said in 1910 to a large gathering of musicians and citizens:

"I doubt very much whether there is in any other city in the world a scene like this today. I beg you to think about it and to think all the way through it and try to figure out what it means. These splendid fellows (referring to the Boys' Military Band of the store) who are before us, all in the early youth of their lives, instead of walking the treadmill of business, are carrying along with them studies that make their lives larger, that enable them to strike a note of pleasure and of cultivation. This little pinch that you have on the platform of the great chorus—I am proud of the pinch—gives only an idea of what exists here and what is possible elsewhere in every city of the land.

"Whilst we sit here the great business of the house is going on. Downstairs other people are working for you, while we are up here playing for each other, and, my friends, it is only because of a great business back of it, giving its backing to all the school and musical work that ought to be brought into our lives—it is only because of it that we can have such an assemblage as this today.

"Some who look at what we are doing here regard such an occasion as this as a kind of door-mat to publicity, or the noisy tongue of an advertisement, but we will have to grow beyond that. I understand something of advertising,

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and I advise any one who wants to get the best profit out of advertising to use the newspapers and pay 50c a line or whatever it may be. But I also speak to the merchants, if they are here today, or to their friends, to say that there ought to be some other percentage than the profit in dollars and cents counted as a large compensation, and to my mind this, as a beginning, is one of the greatest transactions that a merchant could have.

"We are not the mere automata of business. We are men and women reaching out hand and heart to make life easier and to make the world happier.

"I believe it to be true that every baby is born with a song in its mouth; we are in quest of that song. We are hopeful that neither ignorance, poverty, nor toil, nor disappointment, nor trouble shall crush the song of the spirit. So it shall ever be as a part of the dream—aye, that is true, it is an old dream—the fulfillment of the vision that we shall search for that little song, and we will make it larger and stronger until it shall join in the great song of nature.

"I am striving—good friends in the musical profession—to have you consider this as a center not wholly dedicated to business, but to music. Oh, how much there is in the thought of it! This world that is so full of tears and groans and of sorrow—the thought that we can start the singing of a song that will spread into our homes and over the city and into the land. Isn't that a fine and helpful thought for us? I therefore welcome you for today, and I promise you that the doors shall ever be without a lock. Open them until the house is full, and if you are on the wrong side of the door it will not be my fault."

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It was logical, when the development of radio transmission reached the stage of broadcasting, that Wanamaker should use this discovery and invention to put his store concerts on the air and send them into thousands of homes.

His stores were already pioneers in wireless transmission. They were the first in the world to be equipped as official wireless stations—opened on May 19, 1911, when the Mayor of Philadelphia, John E. Reyburn, sent a radio message to the Mayor of New York, William J. Gaynor, reading: "Sincere greetings and congratulations on completion of enterprise which gives the Wanamaker wireless one more tie for service and friendship to unite our cities." To John Wanamaker who was then in Ems, Prussia, a Marconi message was sent across the ocean, reading: "Wanamaker wireless inaugurated, first message Philadelphia Mayor to New York Mayor. Your co-workers send heartiest congratulations."

On May 22, 1911, the Wanamaker stations were opened as official stations of the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company for the receipt of messages at the rates then prevailing—\$2 for the first ten words, 12c for each additional word; address and signature free of charge. The announcement added that "a test of the service from the Wanamaker New York Store to ships at sea indicates that this will be the most powerful Marconi station now in operation."

In the winter of 1922 the Wanamaker New York Store opened the first radio broadcasting station on Manhattan Island and operated it for nearly a year, following with arrangements made with station WJZ of the Radio Corporation of America for periodical broadcasting of the afternoon auditorium concerts and the special recitals on the great

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organ, bringing in appreciative comments not only from nearby points but from places 1,500 miles away.

The radio station of the Philadelphia Wanamaker store, WOO, was heard many times across the Atlantic.* And during the celebration of a Radio Festival in April, 1924, concerts from the New York Wanamaker Auditorium were broadcast direct to the Wanamaker London House at 26 Pall Mall through courtesy of station WJZ of the Radio Corporation of America and station WGY of the General Electric Company of Schenectady, N. Y. Reports from London, by cable and radio, were received back in New York before the concerts were completed stating how clearly the broadcast was being heard. The British Broadcasting station

*David Sarnoff, now president and the general manager of the Radio Corporation of America, was one of the first operators at Wanamaker's, and he it was who received at the Wanamaker station the first word of the sinking of the *Titanic*. Mr. Sarnoff tells the story as follows:

"It will be recalled that for a long time it was impossible to get definite information of what had happened on the ill-fated *Titanic*. In these days we had no 'loud-speakers,' or any of the refinements of apparatus of the present day. Radio operators were required to wear headpieces with telephone clamped over the ears, in which the faint buzz of the dots and dashes was heard. For three days and three nights, on a continuous stretch of seventy-two hours, I sat with the headpiece clamped on tightly, straining to hear a word or a detail that might come through the air.

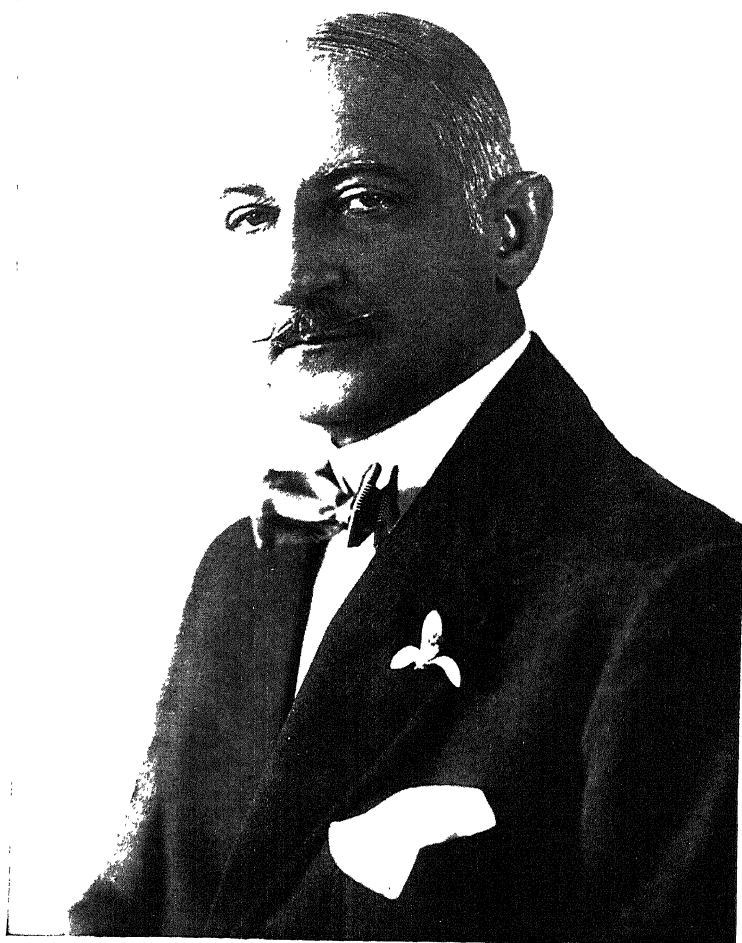
"Finally I was rewarded. I began to receive the first details of the disaster—the fact that the *Titanic* had sunk, that the *Carpathia* had taken off a number of passengers. I immediately gave the news to the press. Then bedlam broke loose. Reporters and relatives and friends of passengers on the doomed liner hung breathlessly over my shoulder while I copied the names of those who had been saved, scanning every letter as I placed it on paper and hoping that the next word would spell the name of a loved one.

"But the very tragedy of the *Titanic* disaster crystallized in the minds of everyone the value of radio, and the art was given a new status. One almost immediate result was the passing of laws of national and international character to safeguard life at sea by making it compulsory for every ship carrying fifty or more persons to be equipped with radio telegraph apparatus, with provision for two operators to be constantly on watch so that distress signals might be received or sent out in time of need."

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at Biggon Hill, just outside of London, picked up the broadcast and relayed it over Great Britain. The concerts were heard also in France. Two continents were thus linked ear to ear by means of Wanamaker radio activities.

Having pioneered in radio broadcasting—and completed this work—the Wanamaker station in Philadelphia was closed in 1928, giving wider field to the national broadcasting stations now offering with their hook-ups almost universal service.



Norman Hammarsten.

1862-1928

CHAPTER XXIX

RODMAN WANAMAKER EXTENDS THE ADVENTURES WITH MUSIC

WHEN Rodman Wanamaker returned from Europe during the construction of the new Philadelphia Store, in 1910, he said while walking with his father through the Grand Court, then still unfinished: "Let us take out of the plans the elaborate decorations which will cost nearly a million dollars, and build up there over that gallery the finest organ in the world." So it came about that the Grand Court was transformed into a veritable cathedral. John Wanamaker told the story in this way: "We discovered to our dismay that it would take years to build the kind of organ we had in mind. We then heard about the great St. Louis Exposition organ which was stored away in a warehouse in that city, silent and unused. We sent experts to examine it, and upon receipt of their report, purchased the instrument, loaded it into 13 freight cars, brought it to Philadelphia. We engaged the original builder to rebuild it for us. Thus was the Wanamaker Organ Shop started. At that time the instrument had 143 stops and some 10,000 pipes, but we found that even so immense an organ was not large enough for the Grand Court, so we added 92 more stops and built a new console to play the 18,000 pipes. Today it is the largest organ in the world. But we are not finished with it. We still have some dreams left."

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Rodman Wanamaker's development of the organ and his pioneering activities in the field of music are told by the *Musical Courier Extra*, of New York City.*

"During the war the Grand Court Organ became the central voice of a great patriotic musical demonstration, sometimes with massed military bands. Having thus created a public which flocked in eager throngs day by day to hear its musical messages, this great instrument, now the largest in the world, was ready to enter the field of highest art. Thus in March, 1919, Rodman Wanamaker arranged an evening concert to inaugurate the instrument, an event which remains the high-water mark of organ history. For this great occasion 15,000 music lovers from Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Washington and other points gathered in the Grand Court and the six lofty galleries surrounding it to hear the Philadelphia Orchestra of 100 players, led by Leopold Stokowski, and the organ, presenting the first American performance of Widor's Sixth Symphony for organ and orchestra with Charles M. Courboin, the Belgian organist, one time of Antwerp Cathedral, as soloist. Stokowski afterwards wrote . . . 'I shall never forget Courboin's playing of Bach on the Wanamaker organ. It was of an indescribable grandeur!'

"The following season Charles M. Courboin gave 27 recitals on this organ at night before an approximate total audience of 150,000 persons.

"At the close of the series another great organ-orchestra event was staged in the Grand Court with the Philadelphia Orchestra, Stokowski conducting, and Charles M. Courboin

* Issue of May 21, 1927—Special Music Advancement number.

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and Pietro Yon, Italian organist, as soloists. The audience numbered about 12,000.

"While these historic events were taking place, Rodman Wanamaker was quietly building a new and unusual concert organ in the New York auditorium, an instrument not only destined to be the largest and finest concert organ in the metropolis but also to serve as a model for new tonal and mechanical developments for all organ-building and to mark another step in the onward progress of the Wanamaker musical ideas.

"In the fall of 1921 this new instrument, containing 120 stops and 7,500 pipes, was inaugurated with a series of brilliant organ recitals played by Charles M. Courboin and Marcel Dupré, the famous French organist, then organist at Notre Dame Cathedral, Paris, who was brought to America specially for these recitals.

"So great was the success of these recitals that Dupré was brought back to America for three successive transcontinental tours under Wanamaker management during which he broke all records for organ recital tours by playing as many as 110 organ recitals in one season! The Wanamaker Concert Direction also took over the management of the tours of Courboin. Two organ recitals began to grow where one grew before, throughout the country. Orchestral conductors began to follow the lead of Stokowski, and these and other organists played not only with the Philadelphia Orchestra but the New York Philharmonic, the New York Orchestral Society, the Cincinnati Symphony, the Detroit Symphony, the Boston Symphony, the Minneapolis Symphony, the Springfield Symphony, under Hadley, Reiner,

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Monteux, Verbrugghen, Gabrilowitsch and other conductors.

"In 1924 Rodman Wanamaker brought to America for his first visit the late Marco Enrico Bossi, famous Italian composer and organist. Following a third organ-orchestra concert in the Philadelphia Store with Stokowski and the Philadelphia Orchestra the Wanamaker Concert Direction arranged in February, 1924, for New York another organ-orchestra concert of unique interest when four of the world's greatest organists presented for the first time in New York City four major works for organ and orchestra. Assisted by 75 players from the New York Philharmonic Society under Henry Hadley, Enrico Bossi, representing Italy, played his Concerto in A Minor; Marcel Dupré, representing France, played Bach and Dupré works; Charles M. Courboin, representing Belgium, played Widor's Sixth Symphony; and America was represented by Palmer Christian, organist of the University of Michigan, who played the E Major Concerto by Eric DeLamarter.

"In the season of 1925-26 Alfred Hollins, England's famous blind organist and composer, was brought over for a concert tour of seventy-five recitals, playing début concerts on the New York and Philadelphia Wanamaker organs.

"During the season of 1926-27 two other notable organists were introduced to America for the first time, Marcel Lanquetuit, first prize Paris Conservatory, organist of St. Godard Church at Rouen; and Louis Vierne, the eminent blind French composer, titular organist of Notre Dame Cathedral, Paris, who made his first American transcontinental tour

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under the Wanamaker management. In 1927, the brilliant young Fernando Germani, 21 year old Italian organist of the Augusteo Orchestra, at Rome, was discovered by the Wanamaker Concert Director, and brought to America for a series of début concerts. Germani returned in 1928-29 for a transcontinental tour. England was represented, too, in that season by G. D. Cunningham, the distinguished organist of Town Hall, Birmingham.

"In addition to these eminent personalities in the foreign organ world, these organ recitals have also been the means of presenting many outstanding American performers such as Lynwood Farnam, Richard Keys Biggs, Ernest McMillan, John Herman Loud, Palmer Christian, Leo Sowerby, Harold Gleason, Felix Borowski, Eric DeLamarter, Rollo Maitland, Firmin Swinnen, and many others.

"Special music was written for these unusual concerts. For example, the *Concerto Romano* of Alfredo Casella written by that eminent Italian composer especially for the Wanamaker organs and collection of stringed instruments which had its world première in the New York Auditorium on March 11, 1927, with the composer conducting, and Charles M. Courboin at the organ. Also works by DeLamarter-Sowerby, Borowski, Malipiero and other notable composers of Europe."

The Philadelphia and New York organs are the only products of the Wanamaker Organ Shop. This shop is non-commercial, functioning solely as an artistic laboratory. These organs were created with the object of bringing a new in-

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spiration to lovers of music, and they are heard by hundreds of thousands of persons every year. Nowhere else does the organ reach so great a multitude. They have created new audiences for the organ and increased interest in the king of instruments throughout the world.

In the fall of 1924 Rodman Wanamaker called his musical director to him and said: "Build me more organ here in the Grand Court. We have just begun to dream. Let us have all the tonal glory of an orchestra added to this great organ. Double it in size if necessary." Thus, after years of careful planning and incessant labor, the Philadelphia instrument is now of unbelievable size, of incomparable tonal variety, of hitherto undreamed-of capabilities for music such as man's ears have never heard before. A full string-stop section of 100 stops, resembling the massed strings of a giant orchestra, has been added; an orchestral organ; a special diapason organ; numerous pedal stops and a console of six keyboards—the first one ever built.

While Rodman Wanamaker waited for the completion of this monumental instrument of over 400 stops and 25,000 pipes, he dreamed another dream and set about its realization. It was outlined one summer day of 1925 in a little back room of the Paris Business House of John Wanamaker, overlooking a quiet garden dating back several hundred years. "There is something about good music," said he, "which touches the heart—and you can never escape its influence. *It does something to you.* I cannot explain it. But I believe that this subtle thing which touches the heart can be created or experienced only if it springs from an unselfish

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spirit. In these days music is in danger of becoming commercialized. Often it is not an inspiration either to those who make it or those who listen. True art cannot subsist on this. I have never asked any recognition or publicity for myself in return for what I have been able to do. *I have wanted only to do something for music.* And I want to do more."

Warming to his subject, he went on to ask if the spirit which animated the craftsmen of olden times could not be revived in some way? From rare laces, potteries, paintings, wood carvings, old silver and other things, his talk turned to old violins. "What makes the violins of Stradivarius and Guarnerius better than all others?" he asked, "why does the tone of these instruments under the bow of an inspired player tug at your heart-strings? Isn't there something *inside* these old instruments more elusive than mere age, rare workmanship, fine wood and perfect varnish? Isn't there something inside of their fine spirit, their love and pride in their work? It takes this same spirit to discover and reawaken it for our ears. Would not the placing of such instruments in the hands of musicians today help to rekindle a little of this old fire—this spirit?"

In some such manner as this he talked, and presently there began an amazing musical adventure. Under the guidance of experts he gradually assembled the most complete and comprehensive collection of rare Italian violins, violas, cellos and basses which modern times have seen. He dedicated this entire collection to the service of music. For this collection was unique in that it was not for sale, not for a museum, but was assembled for the purpose of giving concerts. As

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the New York *Sun* remarked editorially: "Violins to be heard, not seen."

With characteristic speed Rodman Wanamaker's thoughts crystallized into a definite plan; he formed a *Cappella* with the instruments, in honor of the master craftsman who made them, and invited the musical public to hear the concerts—free. This foreword printed in the program of the first *Cappella* concert expressed clearly what he had in mind:

"The world of music has long paid enthusiastic tribute to the rare perfections and tonal glories of the stringed instruments of this epoch, as well as to the company of great composers who founded and developed the art of writing for stringed instruments. But the master craftsmen of that period whose genius made this possible have too long remained unsung.

"It is conceivably true that composers such as Vitali, Vivaldi, Corelli, Pergolesi and their contemporaries and successors could not have made so significant a contribution to the art of music, had not a happy coincidence placed at their command such geniuses in the art of instrument making as Amati, Stradivarius, Guarnerius and other makers.

"It is therefore a privilege to present a *Cappella*, comprising a distinguished company of musicians, to pay honor, for the first time in musical history, to the men whose supreme artisanship made possible the perfect performance of masterpieces of musical literature."

Thus was Rodman Wanamaker searching in his own way for "the song in the mouth of the child." News of his plans resounded far and wide. Great artists came to play the rare

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treasures. Special music for the concerts was written by great composers. The collection—as carefully chosen and matched as a necklace of priceless pearls—became famous almost overnight. Thousands flocked to the concerts, entranced by the ravishing sounds of commingled Stradivari, Guarneri and Guadagnini viols. These things meant but little to him. He still searched for musicians who could play and audiences that could listen with the same spirit that inspired the master *luthiers*. “That was good,” he would say after hearing one of his concerts, “but there is still something lacking. There is untold beauty hidden in those instruments which we have not yet heard. We must go on to the next step.”

Nearly thirty public concerts were given with instruments from this collection, beginning with the historic first concert in the New York Wanamaker Auditorium on March 17, 1926. Among the famous artists who appeared in these concerts were Joseph Szigeti, Efrem Zimbalist, Manuel Quiroga, Miguel Candela, Thaddeus Rich, Scipione Guidi, Mario Corti, solo violinists; Marcel Hubert and Oswaldo Mazzuchi, solo cellists; Samuel Lifschey, violist; Charles M. Courboin, Fernando Germani, Palmer Christian, Marcel Lanquetuit, Alexander Russell, organists; Mme. Charles Cahier, contralto; Mme. Olga Samaroff, Ossip Gabrilowitch, Ernest Schelling, Rudolph Ganz, pianists; Leopold Stokowski, Alfredo Casella, Henry Hadley, Thaddeus Rich, Leo Sowerby, Tullio Serafin, conductors.

The following string quartettes also appeared: The Flonzaley; the Pro Arte; the Lenox; the Vertschamp; the Philharmonic; the Hans Lange; and the entire string sections

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of the Philadelphia Orchestra and the Philharmonic Society of New York.

With the formation of the *Cappella*,* Rodman Wanamaker extended his artistic adventures outside the auditoriums of his stores, and during the last year of his life gave a concert at the White House in Washington for President and Mrs. Coolidge and the entire diplomatic corps; at the Town Hall, New York, for the Beethoven Association; and in February, 1928, brought the series to a climax with a gala concert at the Metropolitan Opera House in honor of the great master *luthiers* of the world. This extraordinary event took place before an invited audience of four thousand lovers of music, and was presented under the auspices of a committee of prominent Italian citizens—compatriots of the great violin-makers whose memory was thus being honored—of which the Royal Italian Ambassador at Washington, His Excellency Nobile Giacomo de Martino, was honorary chairman. The program was made up of works written for stringed instruments by composers who were contemporaries

The Violin Collection

* The collection of rare Italian violins, violas, 'cellos and double-basses assembled by Rodman Wanamaker included four Stradivarius violins representing the four different periods of the master's activity—one of which was the famous "Chant du Cygne" or "Swan," the last violin made by Stradivarius in his 93rd year, the year of his death; a rare Stradivarius viola (one of the known ten in existence); a complete quartette of instruments by Matteo Gofriller (2 violins, viola and 'cello); eleven instruments by Jean Baptiste and Joseph Guarnerini (four violins, five violas and two 'cellos); two violins and a 'cello by Domenico Montagnana; a Tecchler violin and a Tecchler 'cello; a violin by Tononi; violas by Albani and Gagliano; a violin by Joseph Guarnerius del Jesu; a viola by da Salò (the inventor of the violin in its present shape), a 'cello and a double-bass by Rugeri, and other double-basses by Rugeri, Testore, Amati, Gofriller, Grancino, Gragnani, Carcassi, Nardini, and others. The collection also included a group of rare bows by such masters as Tourte, Lamy, Peccate, Voirin, Vuillaume.

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of Stradivarius and fellow craftsmen. It was played by nearly 150 players comprising the combined string sections of the Philharmonic Society of New York and the Philadelphia Orchestra. Maestro Tullio Serafin of the Metropolitan Opera conducted, the soloists were the respective concert masters of these orchestras, and there were three famous concert pianists—Olga Samaroff, Rudolph Ganz and Ernest Schelling. Not since Corelli conducted 150 players of stringed instruments in Rome at a 17th century fête had such a body of string players been assembled on one stage. According to critical comment, New York had never before heard such a flood of golden tone.

With this unparalleled tribute to art, Rodman Wanamaker's unique adventures in music came to a close. The last note had scarcely died away, when his own eyes and ears were closed forever. But he lived long enough and had the faith to make his dream a reality.

CHAPTER XXX

THE WANAMAKER CONTRIBUTION TO INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

IN bringing education into business, John Wanamaker was again the pioneer. And his achievement in this field, although thwarted by the war and partially ended by his death, gave him perhaps more joy at the time than in any other of his pioneering paths. He never succeeded in catching up with his dreams but this was because they were so far ahead of his day. His leadership and inspiration, however, have left a great influence on industrial education in America.*

His ideal was stated in this manner:

"Better than the enduring granite and the massive steel of this building (his Philadelphia Store), shall always be its young men and its splendid maidens, rising by education to the finest type of manhood and womanhood. Through all the many years past, boys and girls compelled to leave the public schools and go to work for the sake of helping the home, have found here, side by side with their earning ca-

* A bulletin issued October 31, 1927, by the Public Education and Child Labor Association of Pennsylvania says that "four colleges have established co-operative courses in commerce (half time in theoretical work and half time in actual paid service in practice); that 5,500 engineering students, 10 per cent of all in the country, are now enrolled in coöperative classes in eighteen colleges; that at least fifteen cities and towns in Pennsylvania have coöperative part-time employment of public-school pupils."

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capacity, a learning privilege that has built them into a higher and an abler citizenship."

As early as 1882 definite instruction in system and salesmanship and in the qualities and uses of merchandise was in active progress in the Wanamaker Store. In 1891 the store boys and girls were organized for educational purposes, and on March 12, 1896, the store school became the "John Wanamaker Commercial Institute"—usually called, for short, the J. W. C. I. "The Store organized its schools," John Wanamaker said in 1906, "not as an advertisement, but as a clear duty to its young men and boys, and they have become a function of the store" . . . "there is a social service due from employer to employee" . . . "equipment for industry is the wider, broader work of equipment due to employees."

It was not until 1914 that the public school authorities in Philadelphia and New York, following the Wanamaker pioneering, organized "continuation schools" and established them in businesses where young people work, as part of the public school system and at public expense. Of these schools John Wanamaker may well be said to be the father, and with their coming and the interruption of the great war, his educational activities grew less, having largely fulfilled their purpose as an inspiration to industry.

His adventures into the higher field of education began in 1908, when he and his associates, on December 10, asked for and received from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, a charter for "The American University of Trade and Applied Commerce," which was formed "to perpetuate the schools of business instruction of the John Wanamaker Com-

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mercial Institute and to enlarge their scope to enable the students while earning a livelihood to obtain by textbooks, lectures and by the schools of daily opportunity such a practical and technical education in the arts and sciences of commerce and trade that they may be better equipped to fill honorable positions in life and thereby increase personal earning power."

The John Wanamaker Commercial Institute curriculum in Philadelphia covers the fundamentals of business arithmetic, penmanship, spelling and English, business requirements, store system, ethics, public speaking, guided reading, physical and military training and health development, ensemble and part singing and band orchestra and field music.

The Philadelphia Store further provides direct instruction and the practical teaching of actual work in the business, in salesmanship, elements of business, account keeping and auditing, stenography and typing, health and physical culture, hygiene, the study of products and decoration.

There are apprenticeships in such mechanic arts as: printing, picture framing, lace and glove mending, dressmaking and tailoring, jewelry, watch and clock repairing, engraving, upholstering, millinery, candy making and shoe repairing.

The J. W. C. I. is divided between a Senior and a Junior School. After 26 years as strictly the store's own, the Junior School in the Philadelphia Store became, in 1916, under the new Pennsylvania law, a part of the Philadelphia public school system. Cadets between the ages of fourteen and sixteen are required to attend two sessions weekly, of four hours each. The Senior School is still maintained by the store. Its object is to continue the education of cadets over sixteen.

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These cadets do their studying at home and attend two weekly sessions of forty-five minutes each to receive needed instruction and guidance. The courses are planned mainly with a view to fitting the cadets for their present work and for serviceableness in future careers. A moderate amount of home reading is required. Pupils are encouraged to read books of vocational nature, and an effort is also made to interest them in history, literature and other subjects of general educational and cultural value. Those who have graduated are given an opportunity to continue their studies and do more advanced work in the extension classes provided for adult employees.

In music the educational work in Philadelphia comprises the following organizations: J. W. C. I. Military Band, J. W. C. I. Girls' Military Band, J. W. C. I. Beginners' Band, J. W. C. I. Boys' Field Music, J. W. C. I. Girls' Field Music.

A Military Camp at Island Heights, N. J., maintained for vacation purposes, gives every member of the J. W. C. I. a chance to enjoy a happy, healthful outing. Competitive drills, athletic contests and yacht races are held there.

The Meadowbrook Club is the athletic association of the adult employees of the Philadelphia Store, and its athletic field is located on the roof of the store building. The Millrose Club is the athletic association of the adult employees of the John Wanamaker New York Store.

The Medical Department of both stores, in addition to its general medical and surgical practice, handles questions of sanitation, ventilation, instruction and general hygiene for all employees.

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Upon the dedication of University Hall in the Philadelphia Store, April 8, 1916, Wanamaker said: "All my life I have been engaged in an experiment to find out whether or not there was not something better and greater and higher in business than the mere making of money," and he added: "It is wicked to take young people from their educational opportunities, to shut the doors of learning on them just because they must earn a living or because someone at home needs their help. They should have the same chance others have. It can easily be done while they are working and while they are helping those at home. In so many trades and businesses there are slack times, periods when they may be spared to continue their education, and if there is not time the time should be taken. Some sacrifice should be made by those who are at the head of the business world. They should provide a way for giving to the less fortunate educational chances and opportunities for advancement and a more useful life.

"The organization of the J. W. C. I. twenty-five years ago was a necessity to supplement the unfinished work of the elementary schools, where, until within two years, over seventy per cent of the scholars for various reasons left the schools without going any higher and came to work unprepared, and finished, as they supposed, so far as schooling was concerned. Until two years ago there were no Continuation Schools in Philadelphia. Our schools were begun here twenty-five years ago. Quite lately the Public School system started to do continuation work in stores and factories by furnishing for their employees teachers at the taxpayers' expense.

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"We accepted twenty-five years ago, as employers, the opportunity that opened to us to be

Humanizers

Civilizers and

Citizenizers

by organizing our business to give the young people driven out to work by home needs or by discouragements of wasted years from deficiencies of public schools, the chance to seek fitness to work through our Continuation Schools.

"This is a great satisfaction and good opportunity to us to record the fact that our plan gives more than lectures such as the Universities give to law, medical and art students. Our people are taught in the classrooms and afterward in handling and studying the actual things they are to live and work with when not in their classes. The real thing is that we are living our lives together with the things through which we make our living.

We are not theorizing

We are practicalizing

and not merely fanning or propping up an idol of an idea, but working out to our mutual advantage as workers a plan proven to be just and right, worth all it costs because of improved business operations, and, what is much greater, worth infinitely more in the making of men and women.

"The United States Government properly points to the splendid work of its Agricultural Department, in its improving methods of farmers by teaching and by demonstrating and fertilizing, whereby the crops of large acreages of lands have been lifted from yielding only thirty per cent up to eighty per cent and thus adding to our national wealth.

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We are working out the same idea with only this difference—that we are planning that the United States shall reap a harvest of healthy, educated, contented men and women, fit for conditions peaceful and prosperous, instead of leaving them to socialistic anarchies, ignorance and poverty that breed discontents and crimes.”

At the dedication ceremonies, United States Senator Boise Penrose called Wanamaker “the greatest living Pennsylvanian,” and added: “I cannot say that I do not believe this vast store, with its treasures of art and fabrics, and in the collection of merchandise from all parts of the world, is not as great a source of education and inspiration as the libraries of our great universities and colleges. This store is one of the miracles of the twentieth century and Philadelphians are neglecting their duty who do not study it and make use of the opportunities it affords them of research and inquiry.”

Judge James Gay Gordon spoke of Wanamaker as symbolizing in the minds of men the idea of business integrity, as Cæsar symbolized power, and Abraham Lincoln liberty and justice—adding rather extravagantly that “the founder of this institution had immortalized Philadelphia.” Immortalized is a big word to use in connection with a city that is the home of Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell, but the history of business will ever record what Wanamaker accomplished in Philadelphia.

President John Grier Hibben, of Princeton University, said:

“In the coming years Mr. Wanamaker will be measured,

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not as a business man, but as a man who had served the cause of education in his country. The man is bigger than his business. He has made it possible for people to make careers for themselves, to increase their efficiency, to respond to the call for service. The great demand of the day is for service and a recognition of the enlarged responsibility of humanity for humanity. America is living today in a state of peace and prosperity, while Europe is being baptized anew in blood, and we hear that the suffering has brought renewed idealism to the countries on the other side of the Atlantic. But I do not believe that we have to pass through a little calamity in order to grow and develop. We do not have to be scourged by war in order to feel the necessity for moral expansion and development and spiritual uplift. I think that the lesson of the broader needs of humanity can and is being learned in our period of peace which must not be selfish, but altruistic."

President Hibben referred to the work in commercial, industrial and economic preparedness that had been done by the Wanamaker Institution. He spoke in high terms also of the military training the cadets of the John Wanamaker Institute were receiving in their drills. "It is a remarkable thing," he said, "that right here in this institution a body of young men can be formed into a regimental order and ready for service within forty-eight hours if their country calls."

Dr. Mary E. Woolley, President of Mount Holyoke College, said:

"We need all forms of education today and we cannot have too many educational institutions which really edu-

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cate. To link industry with art, science and general education in its broadest and most practical forms is wonderful. The perfection of detail that is reflected in this entire establishment is a lesson needed for Americans with their veneration for what is smart and quick and alert. We need to know the value of work, built up as this work has been built up, slowly, quietly, and carefully. Other men today have built up big business and are building it up, many of them, at the expense of others, but this business has been built up that others may be advanced and educated and given a chance for development."

Dean Marion Riley, of Bryn Mawr College, like Judge Gordon, pointed to the Wanamaker Store and the Wanamaker system of industrial training as one of the three great points of interest connected with Philadelphia history—"the others being William Penn and the Declaration of Independence."

Such high praise as this may sound extravagant to the scientist with his exact words and measurements, to the historian with his perspective of the years when he appraises individuals and their works; it may sound strange even to the lay reader who did not live close to John Wanamaker. But to Philadelphians and to his hundreds of thousands of patrons and friends in many parts of America whose families "grew up with Wanamaker's," who knew the man, knew his works, benefited by his services, believed in him, the picture seems not overdrawn.

To Wanamaker such praise was always humbling. He, himself, would write about his accomplishments with strong claims. True crusader as he always was, he would plainly

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define the results of what he called the revolution in business brought about by his New Kind of Store. But when others acclaimed him and his works he would turn to the Great Builder of all things, and say as he did in laying the capstone of the new Philadelphia building, June 11, 1910:

"I want to say, first of all, that one Hand alone has made it possible for us to have this day of felicity. That one Hand planted the forests, built into the hills the stone, laid down deep in the earth the iron, and through all the fifty years—beautiful years of dreaming and daring, but of health and of hope, of struggles and schooling, years the history of which it would be hard to write—plainly written over all these years, guiding and guarding, is the one signature of the good God, who is interested in us not only on Sundays, but on week days—the Father of us all, who cares for what we are doing. I want to say to the younger people coming on that it is poor prosperity that is blind to the need of God's favor, whether we are in business or out of it.

"Into this building are wrought permanently the visions, the enthusiasms, the well-grounded hopes and the very spirit, the life work of the man that is speaking to you. I want to acknowledge my obligation to you who have been close to me in all these years and helped me, not only those who helped me much, but those that helped me a little. I wish not to forget one, but give you my grateful thanks for all the interest and cheer and courage that I had from you as one that you looked to as your leader.

"I beg you to join with each other in the development of capacity throughout our ranks, in intelligent, sustained, orderly effort to grow to the highest standards, that we may

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rightly occupy the throne to which we have been called; that we make good to each other and to those who look to us for example and inspiration.

“Let us by this service dedicate here and now this memorial stone of completion as an altar around which in days to come all of us who remain will gather to recall the voice of the leader in the store slogan written indelibly in the granite.”

And the words of John Wanamaker cut in the rock of this capstone epitomize his legacy to succeeding generations. They proclaim the past—and challenge the future—with no uncertain meaning. They reflect not only his religious zeal and crusading spirit, but the universality of fellowship and common brotherhood that culminated late in life in his becoming a member of the Masonic Order, being elevated quickly as a special honor to the thirty-third degree. This is the inscription.

“Let those who follow me continue to build with the plumb of Honor, the level of Truth, and the square of Integrity, Education, Courtesy and Mutuality.”

CHAPTER XXXI

RODMAN WANAMAKER AND "THOSE WHO FOLLOW ME"

THE words of the Founder, cut into the capstone of the Philadelphia building, were held sacred by Rodman Wanamaker and the entire business family. He had them placed in letters of gold in the Grand Court of the Philadelphia Store and at the main entrance to the new Wanamaker building in New York. So that their message might be daily recalled he had them cast into "The Founder's Bell," one of the largest in the world,* which he planned and installed

* The Founder's Bell at the time it was hung in the Philadelphia Wanamaker Store was the largest single musical voice in America and the largest bell which had been cast in England up to that time. Outside of its impressive size and weight of 17¼ tons which ranks it eighth in size among the ringing bells of the world, it has unusual and interesting musical qualities.

At the time it was cast (in 1925) no bell of its size had ever before been cast and tuned on the five-tone harmonic principle, which is a great improvement over the system of tuning employed by all bell founders during the last two centuries. Accordingly, this bell is said to be unequalled by any other large bell in the world for its richness and purity of tone; due especially to its accurate harmonics its sound will carry much further than a bell tuned in accordance with the usual method.

A cast bell is the only single musical medium which can sound a complete chord simultaneously. If properly tuned, the notes given out by a good bell are in the following relation:

1—"Strike" note, the tone heard most prominently at instant of striking; 2—"Hum" note, a perfect octave below strike note; 3—Minor third, above strike note; 4—Perfect fifth; 5—Perfect octave above the strike tone; 6—Major tenth; 7—Perfect twelfth.

Along with the strike tone, the harmonics are set in vibration. The strike tone rapidly diminishes in power while some of the harmonics seem to in-

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on the summit of the Philadelphia Store, dedicating it on New Year's Eve, December 31, 1926. Every business day at noon and at the closing of the store its deep-throated voice rings in honor of the business pioneering which is an inspiration to the world. This was Rodman Wanamaker's dedication:

"Ringing free from America, the home of the Liberty Bell, the earth and skies vibrate with the message of 'The Founder's Bell'—a message of Patriotism, of Truth, of Faith, of Love, and of Peace.

"The great Divine law of civilization goes forward just as the people progress themselves, each one to a higher conception of humanity. Whatever our position in life, each one of us has a work to do, a duty to perform, a love to

crease in power for a period so that different notes are sounding at once, giving the effect of a chord.

In addition to these principal harmonics, numberless other overtones are also set in vibration which disappear very quickly, although while they are sounding they do have some effect upon the quality of tone.

The beauty of the carillons in Belgium and Holland is due primarily to the fact that most of the bells have their harmonics in good tune.

The growing popularity of carillons in this country is due to the fact that a method has been discovered of accurately tuning cast bells.

The Wanamaker Bell sounds "D" as a "strike" note. Since it was first hung in the Philadelphia Wanamaker Store, a larger bell weighing about 20 tons and sounding the note "C" (one whole tone lower) has been cast for the Riverside Church in New York City.

Other great bells of the world are: Kremlin, Moscow, Russia, 180 tons (mute); Mengoon, Burmah, India, 84 tons (mute); St. Ivan's, Moscow, Russia, 53 tons; Great Bell of Peking, China, 50 tons; Maha Ganda, Burmah, India, 39 tons; Nishni Novgorod, Russia, 29 tons; Church of the Redeemer, Moscow, 25½ tons; Riverside Church, New York City, 20¾ tons; St. Paul's, London, England, 17½ tons; Olmutz, Bohemia, Austria, 16¾ tons; Vienna, Austria, 16¾ tons; Westminster, London, St. Stephen's Tower, House of Parliament, Big Ben, 14¾ tons; Erfurt, Saxony, Germany, 12¾ tons; Notre Dame, Paris, France, 12 tons; Montreal, Canada, 12 tons; City Hall, New York, 9¼ tons.

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give, that greater achievements and greatest happiness may come to all.

"Let each and every one listen to the spirit knocking at our heart's door and admit the sacred message, which rings out true and faithful, forever, with its sublime influence over every country in all the world.

"The Store Family, as The Founder always called us, pledge ourselves to build with the spirit of our heritage and inspiration—with

"The plumb of HONOR

"the level of TRUTH

"and the square of

"INTEGRITY

"EDUCATION

"COURTESY and

"MUTUALITY."

With his father, and as his successor like his father, Rodman Wanamaker builded with truth. Effacing himself personally he poured into the business his own genius during his father's lifetime, but hardly got started in his own right before death struck him down. He lived less than six years longer than his father, dying March 9, 1928.

But during these six years he not only held firm the rudder of the business ship but he steered it into channels of new achievements. "Keep the mariner's light bright and keep the ship pointing into the wind," was his slogan. He completed the new Wanamaker building in New York which had been incomplete since 1907 because leases for the Broadway and 8th Street corner property had not matured. And at the same time he floored over the rotunda of

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the new building. This was a major building operation. It commenced in August, 1924, and progressed simultaneously upon the two separate additions, one of 61 x 64 ft. square in the rotunda, and the other 85 x 122 ft. square, making the "L" shape of the new building a complete rectangle. Both additions are 16 stories high with 14 above ground and two below, and they add a total of 225,000 square feet of area to the store's facilities. The building was completed in 1925.

One of the last acts of Rodman Wanamaker's life was to plan and make possible the attendance of 150 of the employees in the New York and Philadelphia Stores at the Paris convention of the American Legion in the autumn of 1927. They represented the Thomas B. Wanamaker Post, No. 413, which had been organized within the store and named in honor of his brother. As a guard of honor, Rodman sent with the legionnaires sixty members of the band of the John Wanamaker Commercial Institute and a delegation of the Girls' Cadet Corps. They sailed from New York on the *Caledonia*, September 8, after unveiling in the New York Store a tablet in memory of Thomas B. Wanamaker, and placing a wreath at the Eternal Light in Madison Square.

For months prior to the Post's departure, Rodman was personally supervising all the details at home and abroad. So engrossed was he in these arrangements and so sacred was the cause, that at the risk of being misunderstood he remained in New York City (to complete details) on the day he was tendering in the Philadelphia Store a luncheon

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to Hon. James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor in President Coolidge's cabinet, upon the occasion of the dedication by him of a tablet in honor of Commander Byrd's historic air flight to France in the *America*. He explained that his first duty was to "my people," and Secretary Davis generously accepted the enforced absence of his host, saying that he, himself, always put first the welfare of the youth of the country, illustrating by his own great interest in Mooseheart, Indiana, the home for children erected by The Loyal Order of Moose and founded largely by his labors.

In Paris the Thomas B. Wanamaker Post was given a triumphant reception. The band won *Le Matin's* prize award. The Post and the Girls' honor guard were commended by Marshal Foch, to whom they presented a flag of the United States, the Marshal sending a cable to Rodman Wanamaker as follows:

"After the unforgettable parade yesterday, I had the good surprise to see at my home the Thomas B. Wanamaker Post No. 413. I was deeply touched by its visit and want to tell you how much I was moved by their wonderful allure, pride and brilliancy. I congratulate you very deeply. They brought to me a superb flag with stars, which will have its place next to the one that was given to me in New York in 1921 and since has always been unfolded in one of my reception rooms. Dear Mr. Wanamaker, believe in my most devoted sentiments."

After unveiling in the Paris House of John Wanamaker, on September 21, a tablet in honor of Thomas B. Wanamaker, the Post visited London where the delegation was again enthusiastically acclaimed, placing a wreath on the

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tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Westminster Abbey, having paid the same honor at his tomb at the Arc de Triomphe in Paris.

The Post returned to America October 12, on the *Carmania*, from which steamer Edward Stafford, National Commander of the American Legion, wrote to Rodman Wanamaker under date of October 12, 1927, as follows:

"Twelve hundred and sixty Legionnaires aboard the *Carmania*, returning from the Paris Convention, desire me to express to you their sincere appreciation of your very substantial contribution to the success of our Paris Convention, as well as to our entertainment on the return voyage. Your assistance by sending the Thomas B. Wanamaker Post Band and delegation has added much to the happiness of everyone on board the *Carmania*. Almost every State in the Union is represented on board. We all feel deeply indebted to you."

During the World War Rodman Wanamaker was much in the international eye. He was in constant touch with leaders of public thought in France and Great Britain, helping greatly towards a better understanding of the allies' mutual interests. Before the United States entered the war he placed at the disposal of the French Government his Paris residence on the Champs Elysées as a hospital for wounded soldiers and to the French Red Cross he loaned his Biarritz villa for refugees from the invaded districts of France. Later in Paris and Tours, he established clubs, under the auspices of the Emergency Aid of Pennsylvania, for the soldiers and sailors then on duty in France.

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In New York City he was appointed Special Deputy Police Commissioner and organized and directed the Police Reserves which rendered important service during the war. For the aviation department of the Police Reserves he presented to the city an armed aeroplane and established training stations for military aviators at Port Washington, Long Island, turning over also his America Trans-Oceanic aviation headquarters at Palm Beach, Florida, for a similar purpose.

During the war, Rodman Wanamaker served as chairman of the New York Mayor's Loyalty Committee and from 1917 to the day of his death he was chairman of the Mayor's Committee for the reception of distinguished guests. In this capacity he officially represented the city in extending welcome to the various commissions and individual representatives of the allied powers who came to America during the war, and upon its conclusion he arranged the home-coming receptions to General Pershing, officers of the army and navy and the soldiers and sailors, themselves, as they came home from their victorious achievements abroad. And in their honor it was that he placed in Madison Square at his own cost the only official war memorial the city of New York has yet erected, the Eternal Light, on the site of the shrine of the Altar of Liberty where the returning troops first paid their tribute to the heroic dead.

Among the distinguished visitors welcomed to New York by Rodman Wanamaker were Marshal Joffre, Marshal Foch, Premier Briand, Ex-Premier Viviani, Cardinal Mercier, the King and Queen of the Belgians and their son, Prince Leopold; Ex-Premier Lloyd George, Admiral Beatty and the Prince of Wales; André Tardieu of France, General

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Diaz of Italy, Dr. Vesnitch of Serbia, General Jacques of Belgium, Dr. Gil. Borges of Venezuela, President Pessoa of Brazil, Dr. Brun of Uruguay, General Pedro Nel Ospina of Colombia, South America.

In recognition of his contribution through the years to international amity, Rodman Wanamaker received many decorations from foreign countries. France, as we have seen, made him a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor in 1897, an Officer in 1907, and Commander in 1920. Great Britain made him a Commander of the Royal Victorian Order, Belgium a Grand Officer of the Order of Leopold II, and Italy an Officer of the Order of the Crown. He was also an Officer of the Serbian Order of St. Sava, highest grade, and of the Venezuelan Order of the Liberator. For many years he served in Philadelphia as consul-general of Paraguay and consul for Uruguay and the Dominican Republic.

In domestic organizations he was a trustee of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, a director of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, President of the First Penny Savings Bank of Philadelphia, and member of the New York Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants' Association of New York City. He was also an executor of the estate of James Gordon Bennett, of the *New York Herald*.

But it was in the field of business that Rodman Wanamaker made his chief contribution to the world. His great achievement lay in applying art to merchandise, and in uplifting the character of human service. He was always crusading for better merchandise, better taste in personal and

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home adornment, integrity in workmanship even on the lowest priced garments and articles of trade, linking quality and art with everything he touched.

His offices were laboratories. He surrounded himself with merchandise that he would study—from a simple glove, muffler, necktie or handkerchief, up to the costliest of jewels or of jade embodying the craft and artistry of previous eras. He was constantly going through the stocks of the store with the buyers, and by himself in the evening after the store was closed. He knew the stocks more intimately than almost any other person in the organization and sometimes as intimately as the buyers themselves, although they had purchased the merchandise. He would go into a section and say "let me see so and so," telling the store buyer just where it was. He would refer to an individual piece of furniture, for example, in the Antique Shop, and say just where it was located. Often in coming into the store in the morning he would pick up certain articles which did not meet with his approval, take them up to his office, send for the buyer and conduct a clinic on better merchandise. For hours at a time he would discuss with his executives the merits and demerits of specific merchandise, the quality, the style, urging the need of more art in the lives of the people, the necessity of always keeping ahead in the creation of new merchandise. He himself was a creator. He inspired the creation of new weaves, new designs, new fashions, and the manufacturers and designers of both America and the old world are in great debt to Rodman Wanamaker for the genius which inspired them to make better things.

Even his home was a studio. He said we have to live with

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things before we understand them. They become a part of our lives and if they do not harmonize they are not the right things for our homes.

He would place a certain piece of jade or crystal or other work of art in one of his rooms and study it for weeks before he was satisfied that it was right. Nothing was ever good enough. He would not tolerate the tawdry, the shoddy, the merely cheap thing. Not that he sought costly things. But he constantly endeavored to improve everything he touched. He was as much at home in the Downstairs Store where inexpensive articles are sold, striving to improve them, as he was in the jewelry store or the salons of art. He knew instinctively whether a woman's ensemble was correct, whether the hat had just the right lines, whether the colors were right. He was a harsh critic, but a helpful friend to all who would depend upon his judgment.

Accepting the principles of business established by his father, he applied them in new channels. He sought and found truth in art and applied it to merchandise—to fashion, to fabrics and materials, even to fabrication and handcraft of all kinds. He sought truth in the work, itself, as well as in the product of the work. He believed that true art is founded on simplicity and harmony. He reduced all art and beauty to these two elements. Such an austere viewpoint might lead away from diversity of style and towards a classical standardization. He even went so far as to say that the store should set up one standard of hat, coat, dress ensemble which would be the basis of the prevalent style for all women, modified only slightly to fit the personality of the individual. This standard would change, but it would

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remain still the standard. For men, whose dress is more or less standardized at all times, he was quite sure that one style of apparel—based on simplicity and harmony—would be correct and perhaps the only correct style—for practically all individuals.

In home decoration he sought and found the same truth. The *House Palatial* within the New York Wanamaker Store, designed and decorated in an age when lavish display was in vogue, became almost a nightmare to him, and he changed it into *Belmaison*, a house of simple, good taste. He changed the wall and ceiling decoration as far as possible to conform with simplicity and harmony. He made in the rooms simple and harmonious settings of antiques or faithful reproductions of antiques, not permitting overcrowding but insisting on freedom of space and just enough furniture to meet the requirements of utility for each room. Hangings were simple. Floor coverings were in true harmony. He inspired *The Little Home*, apartments of small rooms which were coming into favor, and he carried into them at very little cost the simplicity and harmony that are the basis of good taste. He established *Au Quatrième*, the fourth floor of antiques in the old building at Wanamaker's, New York, the *Early American House*, the *French House*, the *Spanish House*, each decorated and furnished as true examples of these styles of home furnishing. He attempted to carry into all the home furnishing and decorative stocks of the store the same standard, but here he was met by the diversified public taste still demanding a wide choice. These stocks were somewhat simplified to their betterment, but not reduced to his absolute standard. He found that a merchant

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cannot be too far ahead of his public. When furniture manufacturers would not produce the kind of furniture he believed in, he opened a new section for reproduction furniture, and launched a movement in America for better furniture—furniture with truth in line and fidelity in fashioning that today is being followed in many other stores and pointing the way for purer art in the home.

Rodman Wanamaker sought and created merchandise so far ahead of the taste of the day that it would not always sell as rapidly as expected. A year later when the public grew up to it he would find it in other stores and wonder why his store had not been able to sell it a year ago when he first placed it on sale.

In meeting anyone his alert eye would take in the individual from head to foot, instantly sensing anything that was out of harmony in the clothing that was worn. On entering people's homes he made the same swift appraisal. Of course he did not comment at the time, but he would not forget and often to his confidants in business he would tell why so and so's home was incorrectly furnished or why someone did not wear the proper fashion. Not for a moment did he think that clothing made the man or that raiment made the gentleman. But he did believe that apparel and environment had an uplifting effect on the individual. His great desire was that people should have more happiness in their lives and he knew from his own experience that when they developed an appreciation of art, of beauty, or harmonious surroundings they were most apt to have peace, harmony and contentment. He was always striving to bring to what might be termed the aver-

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age man, some of the joys of art and music and culture. He knew, too, that when the worker made a thing better than he had made it before, joy and happiness came to him. He believed thoroughly in higher wages or income for workers with their hands and was constantly seeking to elevate both the standard of work and the standard of living of the American workman. He earnestly strove for more intelligent service in store-keeping. He wanted his sales-people to know as much as possible about the merchandise. He wanted them to be interested so that they could give their knowledge and lend their interest to the customers—to inspire them with a higher conception of the things they would buy.

With this inspiration back of the business a great uplift was bound to come to the Wanamaker Stores in both cities, for it was Rodman Wanamaker's custom to go back and forth between Philadelphia and New York and keep his hand and eye on both institutions.

The window displays and the exhibits of merchandise throughout the store, all were under his jurisdiction and the decorators worked directly with him. He sent them into all parts of the world seeking new works of art with which he might embellish the stores. He surrounded them with artistic things, sought out for them classic books of art and outlined a course of study. He was always buying and giving away books that would inspire those around him. And he established a store library of many thousands of volumes for the cultivation of his store family.

With all his keenness for the public affairs of the world and the international relations which he sought so much

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to serve with friendship and understanding so that lasting peace might come, his interest naturally gravitated to the individual worker and the product of the worker's genius. Coming from public functions where he met the nobility and statesmen of the old world as well as the highest officials in his own country he would immerse himself directly in the affairs of business and the merchandise of his store which to him were more interesting than any public contacts or acclaim.

He took for granted that others in his organization would look after the staples, the usual stocks that are standardized. A rather tall order to say: "I depend on you to keep the general business going ahead—then I am free to build on that the kind of store I have in mind!" But he meant just that. It was his job as he saw it to create the unusual, the better than usual, or to assemble the classical. He was not much in sympathy with the contemporary note in art—so-called modern art. He studied it. But he did not believe it had yet reached a stage that would make it a classic of this age. He preferred the art that had become *classique* by right of long acceptance as true and beautiful. His canons of taste were those of the old masters, whether in painting, sculpture, architecture, fashion or handicraftsmanship of any kind. His taste favored the French and the English, with also a keen recognition and love of what he termed "the Eternal Arts of the East." It was largely through his inspiration that the Wanamaker House in the East was opened first in Yokohama in 1909, and another at Shanghai, where the chief buying operations later centered. He took unto himself almost exclusively this branch of the business, even

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before his father's death, training representatives and sending them into Japan and China several times a year, later including India in their itinerary, instructing them to bring home the most artistic things they could buy. As he got deeper into the East his taste largely centered on China, and he became a collector of jade, crystal and the other sculptures of the early dynasties of China when they led the world in their art. Gradually he assembled a collection of the "Eternal Arts of the East" that is without counterpart in any store and from which have come many specimens that now repose in some of the museums of the country.

It was a super-store he dreamed of and to a degree developed. A specialty store within a general store, a museum-like store, a gallery of art and fashion, a studio where all might learn. And his store received this recognition from other merchants. "He was outstandingly the artist in business," said one. "His stores have served as an inspiration to many competing merchants," said another. "He applied his rare taste to the development of his great business with all the care that he might give to collecting art treasures," said a third. And others added: "He gave a dignity and character to the craft of retailing that was of incalculable benefit" . . . "he was a man with a vision, a dreamer whose dreams came true, a builder with ideals" . . . "he was one of the greatest merchants in the world, there were very few in his class" . . . "we who are merchants will miss particularly a leadership that was inspiring in its ideals and progressive in its practice" . . . "he successfully followed the footsteps of his father, no mean task."

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M. Paul Claudel, the French Ambassador, said: "He was a merchant of the highest type, a patron of the arts, a promoter of aviation and a great citizen. In him France loses a true friend who all through his life unfailingly devoted his time and energy to a better understanding between our two nations."

President Coolidge said: "As a merchant of high ideals and as one who gave of his means and time lavishly to public enterprise and private philanthropies he will be greatly missed."

Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury, said: "He was an important figure in the business world, a man of many and varied interests in other fields and did much by reason of his understanding of conditions abroad to promote better relations between his country and the rest of the world."

Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, said: "He was one of the great merchants of America."

Governor John S. Fisher, of Pennsylvania, said: "He was a man of broad vision, of notable business enterprise, and of great public spirit."

Governor Alfred E. Smith, of New York, said: "He was a forward-looking, progressive citizen of our country and a great friend of the City of New York."

On July 20, 1928, a few months after Rodman Wanamaker's death in March—on behalf of the government and the people of France, Dr. Marcel Knecht, representing the French-American Committee of the French Press, placed

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on his tomb at Philadelphia a votive offering of an urn of bronze, iron and gold executed by the Alsatian artist, Edgar Brandt. The urn contains soil from three historic sites in France—from Picpus Cemetery in Paris where Lafayette is buried, from Bathelémont near Luneville where fell the first Americans of the American Army in action in France, and from Ver-sur-Mer on the coast of France where Commander Byrd and his companions of the Wanamaker *America* made their landing after flying across the Atlantic.

Dr. Knecht said, "Rodman Wanamaker was the greatest symbol of the spirit of Washington and of Lafayette. He was one of the greatest intelligences of the United States. He was a great citizen, a noble leader in everything, a great man and a great father to humanity, filled with idealism, duty and love."

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Rodman Wanamaker's will devised the business to seven trustees * for the benefit of his three children—John Wanamaker, Jr.; Fernanda, wife of Ector Munn, and Marie Louise, wife of Gurnee Munn—naming as managing trustee

* William L. Nevin, William P. Gest, chairman of the Board of the Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Co.; Levi L. Rue, chairman of the Board of the Philadelphia National Bank; Owen J. Roberts and Maurice Bower Saul, attorneys; Robert H. Montgomery, of Lybrand, Ross Bros. and Montgomery; and J. Willison Smith, president of the Real Estate-Land Title and Trust Co.

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William L. Nevin, Esq., long associated with both Founder and Son. They are carrying on as Rodman Wanamaker carried on. And they are having the whole-hearted coöperation of the Wanamaker organization.

Replying to an inquiry as to the policy now to be followed, Mr. Nevin wrote: "The capstone quotation on the finished stone work of the roof of the Philadelphia Store to which you refer was written and laid in position by John Wanamaker some years ago, and was not only an expression of the course he pursued in his mercantile career from the time he first began in Philadelphia, but for all the following years, when he developed the wonderful institutions he gave to his Son some years before his death.

"The Son followed the same course as his Father, and we, as organizations, in Philadelphia and New York, will follow the spirit thus established, and will continue under the plan Rodman Wanamaker adopted for the continuation of the business.

"My experience dates from 1890. From that time, until his death, I was associated with John Wanamaker in all the principal things connected with the development of his work.

"It is a pleasure, therefore, to look back upon the wonderful work established, now world-wide in its reputation, and to feel every effort will be maintained to keep up the high standards of the business, and the flags of the Founder and the Son, nailed securely at the masthead of our ships of commerce, so we will continue to steer our course by the chart left us."

THOSE WHO FOLLOW

And Mr. Nevin caused to be published in the Wanamaker advertising of March 14, 1928, the following:

A PROMISE

On the capstone of the Wanamaker building put in place on June 11, 1910, by John Wanamaker, to mark the completion of the structure, begun April 26, 1904, are these words:—

“LET THOSE WHO FOLLOW ME
CONTINUE TO BUILD
WITH THE PLUMB OF HONOR
THE LEVEL OF TRUTH
AND THE SQUARE OF INTEGRITY
EDUCATION, COURTESY
AND MUTUALITY.”

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“The above inscription was written by the Founder, adhered to by his son, Rodman Wanamaker, and now continues to be the guiding precept of the Wanamaker business under the management and control of those long in coöperation with the Founder and his Sons.”

As a monument to those who have gone, master builders of the House of Wanamaker, who kept the faith and who keeping the faith won and preserved their most cherished possession—the confidence and good-will of the people—the Wanamaker business goes on without break, to serve, to lead, to point the way to a friendlier and greater destiny.

THE END

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